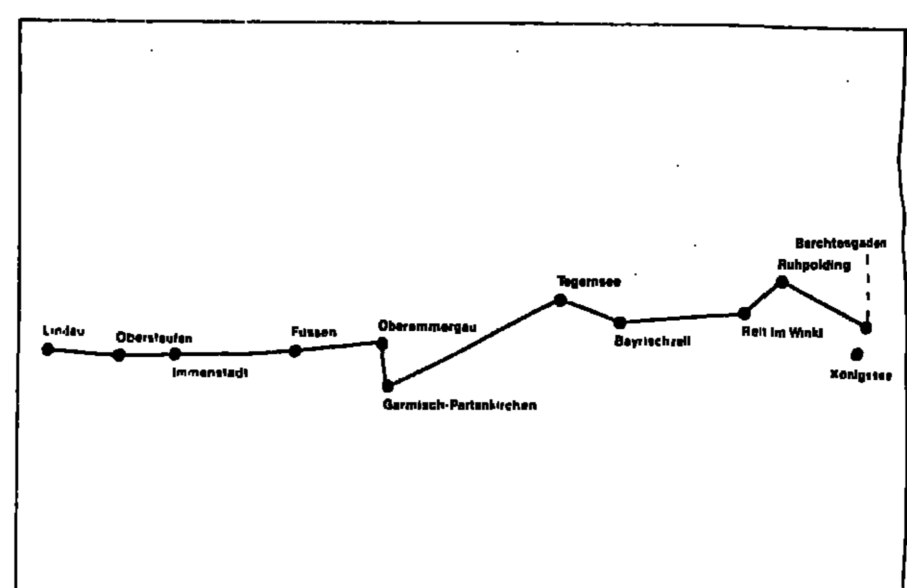
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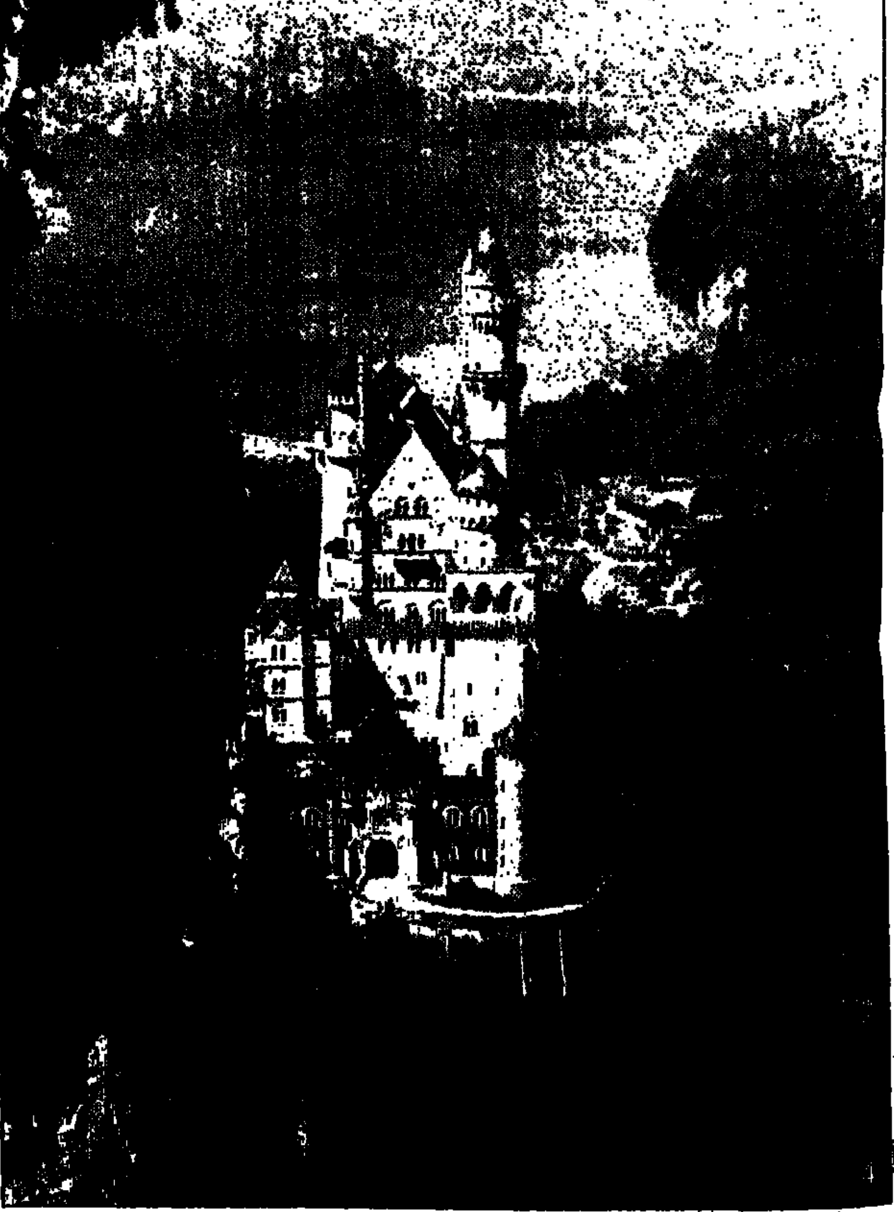
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The German Tribune

Hamburg, 11 September 1988
Twenty-seventh year - No. 1339 - By air

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DEPOSE A BRX X

Air-show crash revives issue of Allied rights in Germany

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The Ramstein air show tragedy has caused more than shock and horror. It has also caused amazement that the Allied air forces can apparently do just what they want to in Germany.

The public don't like it. Nor does the Bonn government.

What it amounts to is the rediscovery of something that had almost been forgotten: the fact that residual Allied rights remain and are based on treaty commitments.

This is only partly due to the fact that there have never been serious disputes about these rights, some of which have existed for 25 years. Changing political awareness in the Federal Republic is a contributory factor.

A German public that felt deeply satisfied at having qualified so soon after the war as a partner of the Western world on a basis of almost equal rights has become a public which feels equal rights to be self-evident.

The feeling of being the political equal of and entitled to the same rights as any other member of the Western world is part and parcel of the public outlook on life in Germany today; that is a change for the better.

Page 4: What now after the air-show disaster? Furious debate; Legal grey area surrounds minister's banning order.

But it means risks when we forget how we reached this position and what distinguishes it from the position enjoyed by Bonn's allies, that is, the degree of German sovereignty.

Unlike its Nato allies, the Federal Republic of Germany is not a fully sovereign state. This fact, of which the experts are well aware, has invariably been largely ignored by politicians in the public debate.

Its rediscovery may become politically difficult, especially if it is accompanied by a change in political outlook such as opin[illegible]

It includes, for instance, the loss of the feeling of being threatened by the Soviet Union and the desire for as much disarmament as soon as possible.

From this attitude it isn't far to a critical attitude toward Nato, which retains defence preparedness and deterrence as its objectives.

The "discovery" that our allies' military presence is linked with limitations in our own sovereignty may in certain circumstances be the starting-point for politically difficult demands.

So it is as well to recall the facts. To understand the Federal Republic's present predicament we must go back to 1945, the year in which the Allies' rights of occupation originated.

They still apply, except in Berlin, and one form they take is that the Allies, and not the Germans, are still responsible for "Germany as a whole."

In order to exercise these rights the wartime Allies are still entitled to station troops in Germany, as many as they want.

The treaty obligations binding on Allied units stationed in the Federal Republic with the approval of the Federal government, terms in force since July 1963, do not apply to these occupying forces.

This is clearly stated in the 1954 London Agreement and Treaty on the Stationing of Foreign Forces in the Federal Republic of Germany, both of which specify the Allies' right to sta[illegible]

To this day the Allied military presence is based both on treaties with the Federal Republic and on Four-Power agreements reached in 1944 and 1945.

This twofold status distinguishes them from the legal status of forces stationed in other Nato countries.

Special features apply not only to the Allies' right to station troops in Germany; they also apply to legal ties between these forces and Germany.

The so-called Nato Forces Statutes have been amended and amplified by an additional agreement applying to troops in the Federal Republic.

By the terms of this agreement the Nato compromise between the country of origin's interest in its laws applying to its troops and that of the host country to have its laws apply to them is shifted in the Allies' favour.

These special rights apply in many sectors, materially the most important of which arguably being the right Allied units enjoy to hold land-based and airborne manoeuvres outside their bases.

The extent of these additional rights is not based solely on the need to keep Allied forces here combat-ready.

It is also due to the fact that this treaty replaced the occupation status which applied until 1955 and had in part to take the given facts into account. This all shows how far removed the Federal Republic was from being in a position to behave as an equal among equals. Germans should remember this mind when issues that were decided all those years ago suddenly assume relevance. The Allies should in turn show political tact in exercising the legal rights laid down in those days. Otherwise German public opinion might decide that the treaties are a handicap [illegible] That would be a fatal mistake for Nato unity.

Karl Feldmeyer
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 5 September 1988)

Dismantled missiles trucked out
The first nine Pershing-2 missiles leave the US base at Waldheide, near Heilbronn, on their way to be scrapped under the terms of the INF Treaty. (Photo: dpa)

Time to hit Ceausescu and his world of delusions

The Stalinist policies of Romania's despot, Nicolae Ceausescu, towards minorities is coming under heavier international fire.

The Bonn government has been cautious because it has not wanted to damage the chances of ethnic Germans wanting to get out. Until now. Bonn is now making its condemnation public.

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has publicised the contents of a letter he wrote to the Romanian foreign minister.

In the letter, Genscher expressed his "great concern" about Ceausescu's agricultural reform, which would result in the steamrollering of thousands of villages and the elimination of a long-standing European cultural heritage.

The reference is to the fate of 230,000 Germans living in Transylvania and the Banat region who could become the victims of ethnocide.

Bonn not only has the right but the duty to intervene in the interests of the threatened ethnic group.

Hopes that the payment of more per higher per capita payments will induce Ceausescu to speed up the release of the Romanian-Germans are not enough.

Many people feel that the Romanian *Conducator* (leader), who has drifted into a socialist world of delusion, can neither be pressurised by insistent requests nor by economic sanctions.

There are, however, forms of diplomatic escalation which are bound to hit Romania where it hurts, especially if the members of the European Community, with which Bucharest is hoping to draw up better trade agreements, were to adopt a common line.

The Vienna CSCE review conference would be the right forum for such an initiative.

The discussion of the "Ceausescu case" in this context would also force the Soviets to state their position more clearly on the question of human rights.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 20 August 1988)

IN THIS ISSUE

Next issue of THE GERMAN TRIBUNE will appear on 25 September

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

The power vacuum left by Zia, the skilful autocrat

Hannoversche Allgemeine

When Pakistan President Zia ul-Haq's plain green wooden coffin was lowered into his grave in Islamabad, 600 Afghan resistance fighters paid him particularly profound last respects.

They bore a green banner with the words: "The Afghan People Will Never Forget You." It was a leave-taking from their benefactor, a man who had espoused their cause, their holy war, like no other.

His sudden death in a plane crash has left a dangerous power vacuum in a region already beset by serious unrest.

The unsolved question of who is to take over his political legacy creates further uncertainty, especially among the Afghans. A player of immense importance in the Afghanistan game, the confidant of Afghan politicians in exile and the United States alike, is suddenly out of the running.

Zia's policy was calculable for the Afghans. He was a fanatical Moslem who felt Soviet troops in Afghanistan were as sinister as the Moslem resistance did. He felt Pakistan's western border was threatened by Soviet expansionism.

Given the precarious situation on Pakistan's eastern border, where the all-powerful arch-enemy India, coddled by the Soviet Union, was ready to pounce, he pursued a consistent strategy of eliminating this second front.

That was why he supported the Afghan resistance movement, why he tolerated four million refugees in Pakistan and why he emerged as one of the most forthright supporters of the mujaheddin in world affairs.

Zia's aim was to see an Islamic regime come to power in Kabul, a regime that would do Pakistan's security interests justice. That was why he deliberately backed the fundamentalist wing of the resistance movement.

Their hatred of the Soviet Union seemed to him to be the safest guarantee that the new Afghanistan would be a loyal ally of Pakistan's. He ruled out any idea of compromise with the Najibullah regime, installed by Moscow in Kabul.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan at the end of December 1979 upgraded General Zia, who came to power in a 1977 coup, overnight.

From being internationally reviled as a despot whose fiddling with the atomic bomb was particularly held against him, he emerged as the defender of Western interests and Pakistan as an anti-communist bulwark.

Zia was an autocrat but his instinct was sound, and he made skilful use of his country's delicate strategic situation to offer the United States in particular his services as a friend and ally.

The war in Afghanistan made Pakistan the cornerstone of US strategy in Central Asia. Had it not been for Zia's assistance America would hardly have been in a position to bring influence to bear on events in the region.

Pakistan and the United States exerted the crucial pressure that led, in the final analysis, to the Soviet withdrawal. The roles played by Pakistan and the United States have been crowned with success. America bankrolled the resistance and Pakistan was its paymaster.

It was naturally in Zia's interest to maintain what, for him, was a most convenient state of affairs for as long as possible. He could only be sure of further billions in US backing and close ties with Washington for as long as the war in Afghanistan continued to smoulder.

The Geneva peace agreement was basically not in keeping with Zia's strategy, and he was most reluctantly persuaded by the United States to agree to its terms.

Having done so, he left no stone unturned in his attempts to torpedo the agreement and transform the planned Soviet withdrawal into a military defeat. That made him one of Moscow's most dangerous enemies.

If the plane crash in which he died proves to have been due to a bomb, an accusing finger is bound to be pointed at the KGB.

Zia's death has certainly given the Soviet Union a temporary breathing-space. His successors could well be tempted to seek a solution to the Afghan problem in the form of a compromise with Moscow and, maybe, even with the Communists in Kabul.

The millions of refugees impose a heavy burden on Pakistan. The sooner a solution is found, the sooner they can return to Afghanistan. That would even take Pakistan out of the line of fire of Soviet propaganda.

A compromise might arguably be in America's interest. Zia's idea of an Afghan fundamentalist, a "second Khomeini," assuming power in Kabul is one that Washington would find hard indeed to stomach.

Small wonder that Afghan politicians in exile feel uneasy. The man who was to be their guarantor of success at last has died. The game is now open again and the cards are due to be redealt.

Gernot Müller-Serten

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 25 August 1988)

Moving towards a solution in Cyprus

United Nations secretary-general Perez de Cuellar has proved an extremely skilful negotiator of late. He is chairing the negotiations on a peace settlement in the Gulf War. He has now come much closer to his longstanding aim of settling the Cyprus conflict.

The services of an intermediary can naturally only be of use when the time is right, politically speaking. The meeting between Greek Cypriot President George Vassiliou and Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash was held in more favourable circumstances than anyone could have hoped for only a few months ago.

The groundwork was laid mainly by the meetings between Greek Premier Andreas Papandreou and Turkish Premier Türgüt Özal, both of whom showed readiness to seek solutions to their longstanding disputes.

They also agreed that a settlement of immediate bilateral problems, mainly meaning disputes in the Aegean, could only be expected once the irksome Cyprus dispute was resolved.

In the circumstances Mr Vassiliou's election as Greek Cypriot head of state was a real stroke of good luck. He promptly showed he was willing to start clearing obstacles that were largely the handiwork of his predecessor, Mr Kyprianou.

Señor Perez de Cuellar was then able to resurrect his 1985 Cyprus plan, which was stymied at the time by Turkish resistance. He proposed a federation and a transitional government once the Turkish troops sent in in 1974 were withdrawn.

The Turkish forces still present a serious problem, Turkey so far having insisted that their withdrawal would be subject to a political solution having been agreed.

This was a condition the Greeks found unacceptable. It was, in the final analysis, a matter of trust and confidence. When the UN secretary-general first submitted his proposal Athens and Ankara were still implacably at odds.

They are now keen to foster mutual confidence. So the question "who does what first" need no longer be seen as paramount.

Humanitarian problems now come to the fore. What is to become of Greek Cypriots who were forced to flee from the Turkish-occupied north and what, for that matter, of Turkish migrants?

Difficult though these problems may be to solve, hopes are fostered by the fact that the two sides have already agreed on a timetable within the framework of which they propose to reach agreement.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 25 August 1988)

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Pinochet's nomination ensures a trial of strength in Chile

The Chilean junta's decision to nominate General Pinochet as its candidate for head of state and the man whose name is to be submitted for approval by Chilean voters in a plebiscite next month cannot be said to have come as a surprise.

General Pinochet has held power for 15 years and stands to be re-elected for a further term as head of state.

The junta, consisting of General Pinochet himself and the commanders-in-chief of the air force, the navy and the para-military police, took less than two hours to reach agreement.

Individual members of the junta may have created the impression, in previous public statements, that the decision was by no means a foregone conclusion.

But they were either deluding themselves or, more likely, trying to pull the wool over the public's eyes.

The announcement that General Pinochet's is the name that will be on the ballot form has an advantage over the proposal, backed by the Roman Catholic bishops for one, to nominate a consensus candidate on whom the General's opponents could agree.

His candidacy clarifies matters, and not only for the extreme left-wingers, who agreed very late in the day to have anything to do with the plebiscite.

General Pinochet is the ideal candidate for both moderate democrats and dyed-in-the-wool conservatives. He is so widely detested that his candidacy should mobilise all opponents of the authoritarian regime to the greatest possible extent.



That also means that the plebiscite campaign, now officially begun but unofficially in progress for some time, will drive an even greater wedge between supporters and opponents of the regime.

The riots in Santiago and other cities that preceded and were held in response to the junta's proclamation testify to the great excitement with which the Chilean public, or at least the politically-minded, militant public, is looking forward to the trial of strength.

The tension may understandably give vent to violence. It is the first time the Chilean people will have had any real opportunity of passing judgment on the authoritarian regime — always assuming the results are not rigged.

In 1980, when a plebiscite was held on General Pinochet's constitution, the political Opposition was far too handicapped for it to be a fair and straight fight.

On the other hand, a series of riots in advance of the plebiscite could well suit the dictator down to the ground.

As he plans to win approval with the slogan "me or chaos" he could point to streetfighting as an ideal example of the threat of chaos.

That is why Opposition leaders have called on their supporters to demonstrate their dissatisfaction but also appealed to them to steer clear of violence and provocation.

Extremists in contrast continue to pursue their stated goal of making Chile ungovernable in any way they can.

Over the past 15 years the regime has stockpiled enough dynamite for a succession of explosions.

General Pinochet's brief speech to his admirers after his nomination indicates that he has taken up the challenge. The 72-year-old general painted a grim picture of the continued threat posed by "communism."

That, of course, was an admission that the regime has failed so far to keep its original promise to eliminate communism entirely.

General Pinochet also said that civilian politicians of all persuasions were not yet capable of running the country. Given the notorious disunity of the Opposition this argument could carry some weight.

Fritz René Allemann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 1 September 1988)

■ SPD CONFERENCE

Boosts for women and Vogel but not for Lafontaine

The Social Democrats have decided that women are to get at least 40 per cent of party positions by 1994 and of its seats in parliaments by 1998. This was decided at the annual conference of the party. Hans-Jochen Vogel, who was chosen party president in place to Willy Brandt just over a year ago, was re-elected by a whopping majority, which indicates that he is no longer regarded as a stop-gap until someone more acceptable comes along. With the next general election in 1990, much interest was on Vogel and the Premier of Saarland, Oskar Lafontaine, both of whom are front-runners for selection as candidate for chancellor. Lafontaine received a rebuke by doing badly in the poll for chairman. His comments about high wages being a cause of unemployment and remarks on other social issue have angered the trade-union factions of the party. The reports on this page cover various aspects of the conference.



Conference high note: from left, Oskar Lafontaine, Herta Däubler-Gmelin, Hans-Jochen Vogel and Johannes Rau. (Photo: dpa)

There was a new brand of determination apparent at the SPD's congress in Münster.

There were vehement discussions between the party's trade union wing and Oskar Lafontaine, who is both Premier of Saarland and a possible chancellor candidate for 1990. The reason was his go-it-alone course on many social issues.

The congress voted to set quotas for female members — passed by a surprisingly clear majority of the mostly male delegates.

The main point is to give women 40 per cent of the party's jobs by 1994 and of its parliamentary seats by 1998.

This regulation may change the party's structure faster than at any time in its 125-year history. But it will only be beneficial if it does not lead to new incompatibilities.

The SPD wanted its congress to convey three main messages to the public.

The party has prescribed itself a new economic policy programme, in which it even claims to have found a solution to mass unemployment.

At a time of stagnating membership figures it hopes that more women will now be mobilised in the wake of the resolutions.

And, in a combination of both factors there are hopes that the resultant shift in the overall party landscape will make it impossible for any party to rule in Bonn without the SPD.

Yet, as in the case other parties, personalities are still more important when it comes to promoting a party's image than manifestoes and new ideas. This is where the congress came a cropper.

The question of who should lead the SPD into the 1990s remains unanswered.

With the exception of the first woman to be voted into the party's higher echelons as SPD deputy chairwoman, Herta Däubler-Gmelin, the party's leading politicians already look pretty worn out.

The defeated SPD chancellor candidate last year, Johannes Rau, has shown no inclination to try his luck a second time.

Although the party chairman, Hans-Jochen Vogel, was the defeated candidate in the 1983 election he is unlikely to waive the opportunity of another campaign against Chancellor Helmut Kohl in 1990.

The party congress in Münster was the first "test" for Vogel in his role as both party chairman and parliamentary party leader.

As always, he was well-prepared for the challenge and showed no signs of weakness. He even occasionally managed to rally the enthusiastic support of the delegates for some of his ideas.

This new feeling of solidarity in the party and for Vogel had adverse implications for Oskar Lafontaine, the only politician in the party's "triumvirate" (Vogel, Rau, Lafontaine) never beaten in a parliamentary election.

Irrespective of the votes for him in the election of a new presidium and executive, Lafontaine must feel as if the party is trying to slow his rise. He was partly supported and party rebuked by Vogel.

But he inflicted his worst wounds on himself. His dynamic speech about the new economic and social policy course ensured a lot of applause but the mood turned on him after the trade union wing began to give him a battering.

The situation verged on the ridiculous when, of all people, Karl Schiller, (a former finance and economics minister) whose former role for the SPD was almost as significant as that of Ludwig Erhard for the CDU, tried to praise him.

Schiller said Lafontaine had moved from a left-wing economic stance to a right-wing one.

Schiller conjectured that Lafontaine might even become the new Heinrich Deist of the SPD.

Deist was responsible for the economic policy part of the transformation which resulted in the historical Bad Godesberg programme.

Lafontaine, however, comes nowhere near the calibre of Deist, and perhaps never will.

This example indicates the difficulties the party must come to terms with if it intends fighting the next general election with candidates other than those who campaigned in 1983 and 1987.

Both the SPD and the CDU have announced their intentions to open up the party towards the political centre.

Both parties have realised that they need to mobilise greater support to feel certain about being able to regain or retain power in 1990.

Rudolf Strauch

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 2 September 1988)

A Ladies' Day but some doubts persist

The first day of the SPD party congress in Münster was Ladies' Day. The SPD is the first major party to adopt a fixed quota for women.

A third of all party jobs and the of party's parliamentary seats must be allocated to women from next year and 40 per cent from 1994. Although the decision was almost unanimously welcomed, the party is going to find it difficult to put the rule into practice.

Right from the start the opponents to the idea were out on a limb. Legal objections as well as fears that not enough women would campaign as candidates for the jobs available were dismissed.

Warnings that the party which abolished the class system of franchise was now, at the end of the 20th century, introducing an electoral system based on inverted sex discrimination, also went unheeded.

The congress obviously felt that the move was long overdue, even though it is not clear whether all those who voted in favour of the new rule had firm convictions on the issue.

There were more unofficial doubts than the final vote would suggest. The vote was the result of a bad conscience. Although there are files and files of resolutions of the SPD on equal rights for women in political activities things never quite worked out the way they were planned.

The percentage of women involved in party-political work remained unsatisfactorily low.

However, only time will tell whether the proposal really is a historical move, as Schleswig-Holstein Premier Björn Engholm remarked.

It may be possible to find enough career women for jobs in the Bundestag or in state assemblies. Motivating enough to become involved at a local level, to find the time between housework and job, will be tougher.

Re-elected party chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel was one of the main advocates of the quota rule — a fact reflected in the vote.

Delegates who voted against demonstrated courage. Not only party pashas will feel that it is tantamount to a special privilege for female members.

And not only those men who feel that they are by nature more qualified for the job will find it difficult to make way for their female colleagues.

Klaus-J. Groth

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 31 August 1988)

Huge vote of confidence for chairman

Hans-Jochen Vogel has been re-elected SPD party chairman by an astonishing majority — 98.8 per cent of the delegates voted for him at the conference in Münster.

The vote has correctly been interpreted as a pointer to Vogel's prospects of being picked as the party's chancellor candidate in 1990.

The delegates gave the Premier of Saarland, Oskar Lafontaine, a mere 68.3 per cent of their votes in his bid for the chairmanship. That amounts to a slap in the face.

Lafontaine lacks the ability Vogel embodies — that of being a force for integration. And he is perhaps too inexperienced in dealing with opponents within the party.

He has never tried to win their support. Instead, he has always felt that provocation is a virtue.

These qualities may be praiseworthy for a factionalist; a politician seeking to represent the wide spectrum of views and interests of the party as a whole, however, needs other attributes. In the eyes of the SPD, Johannes Rau, the beaten candidate for chancellor last year, still appears to be more suitable than Lafontaine.

The speech Rau gave before being re-elected as one of the deputy party chairmen was worded along very general lines and was only more specific when reference was made to his home *Land* of North Rhine-Westphalia.

Nevertheless, the delegates' response was just as acclamatory as to Willy Brandt's.

This was not merely encouragement for the regional election in North Rhine-Westphalia in 1990 or gratitude for Rau's campaign as leading general election candidate in 1986/1987. The voting showed that Rau can still count on his party's backing.

Originally the Vogel/Rau/Lafontaine team did not want a woman to join them at the head of the party. All three were used to each other and at least refrained from getting in each other's way.

For the first time in the party's history a woman has been elected as deputy party chairwoman.

Herta Däubler-Gmelin's success is a consequence of the vote on the allocation of a fixed percentage of female party members to party posts.

It remains to be seen whether the party will benefit as a result or whether new alliances will emerge.

Vogel was re-elected with such an overwhelming majority that he will have no trouble coping with possible difficulties.

The party congress has done him the world of good.

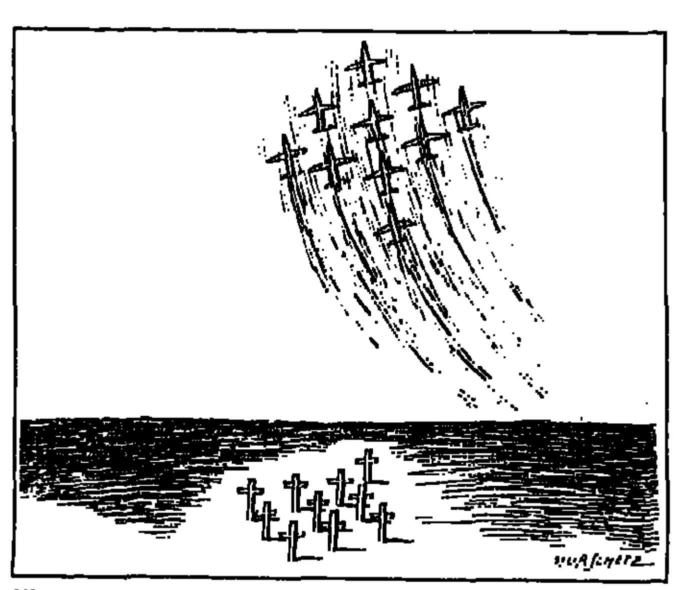
Achim Melchers

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, Essen, 2 September 1988)

AIR-SHOW DISASTER

Furious debate about what to do next

A furious debate over military air shows has been unleashed in Britain, Germany and Italy following the disaster at Ramstein air base, near Kaiserslautern, where nearly 50 people were killed and more than 300 injured — many seriously — after three Italian jets collided and disintegrated. The Bonn government immediately announced a ban on displays. The Americans, who use Ramstein as a base, say this is going too far. The Italian team, the Frecce Tricolori (the tri-colour arrows) will continue flying, although their programme is to be cut back. The articles on this page look at various aspects of the controversy.



Nice formation. (Cartoon: Murschetz/Die Zeit)

Hundreds injured and a rising death toll form part of the swathe of destruction wrought by pilots of the Frecce Tricolori Squadron.

The squadron is named after one of its aerobatic hallmarks: parallel trails of exhaust fumes in the Italian national colours green, white and red.

At Ramstein the daring young men were a little too daring and were directly to blame — but it's not only their fault.

Part of the blame lies with air force brass who take pride in seeing aircraft fly past crowds of spectators at an altitude of less than 50 metres.

The blame also lies with military planners of such displays, including politicians who blandly dismiss warnings and protests as "constantly recurring phenomena" in connection with air shows. They include Bonn Defence Minister Rupert Scholz, who used these very words in a letter to Prime Minister Johannes Rau of North Rhine-Westphalia.

Catastrophes are in this case the result of a combination of ill-advised cockpit folly, unnecessary military showing-off and irresponsible political approval.

It is sheer coincidence that mass killing as a result of public relations in the air has taken so long to happen and happened where it did, in Ramstein, and not somewhere else.

The conclusions reached must not be left to coincidence. The maxim by which society is guided in this country is that the individual must behave in such a way as not to impede the free development, let alone jeopardise the health, of others.

This applies to home-owners, who are not allowed to take pot-shots at all and sundry from their garden, and it should apply 1,000 times more strictly to the armed forces.

They aren't paid for the amusement of their nearest and dearest or the public's pleasure; their job is to prevent war.

By their very existence and the exercises they inevitably take part in they pose more than enough of a threat to civilian society.

Hundreds of soldiers and civilians a year are killed and injured in manoeuvres and in day-to-day troop movements and activities, and the air forces pose a particularly serious peacetime threat.

Military aircraft frequently crash and kill people, are occasionally to blame for catastrophes and could arguably, by an improbable juxtaposition of unfortunate circumstances, such as a direct hit on a nuclear power station, trigger a full-scale disaster.

It logically follows that flight movements by military jets in German air space ought long since to have been cut back to the bare minimum felt to be militarily indispensable.

In reality ace Nato air force pilots with an unbroken sense of self-confidence flew demonstration flights in shows at air bases all over the Federal Republic right until Black Sunday at Ramstein. The Defence Ministry proclaimed a ludicrously ineffectual ban on aerobatics over built-up areas after a Canadian Lockheed Starfighter crashed on the autobahn in 1983.

The fact is that displays of this kind set up built-up areas of their own consisting of crowds gathered to watch aircraft flying at treetop altitudes.

What is that other than running a risk, by negligence if not by design, to the life and limb of the general public?

In his initial reaction to the Ramstein disaster Herr Scholz banned military aerobatics displays "for all time." That is a first step in the right direction.

But it cannot be allowed to serve as an excuse for glossing over past mistakes due partly to negligence (the "nothing will happen" outlook) and partly to party-political wrangles.

Criticism on this score — the way in which permission has been granted in the past — can hardly be levelled at Herr Scholz, who has only headed the Defence Ministry for a couple of months.

His predecessor Manfred Wörner, now Nato secretary-general, has more to answer for.

Military aerobatics has always been dangerous nonsense. It is more than annoying for a heavy toll of people killed and injured to be needed before the Defence Ministry is goaded, under pressure from public opinion, into action.

The Ramstein disaster clearly demonstrated the failure of staff officers and politicians who have only now agreed on moves that had long been an obvious necessity.

No-one will deny that the Bundeswehr has a bona fide interest in public relations. By all means let it go it ahead, especially as much of the public is keenly interested in it and as it makes political sense to demonstrate its combat readiness.

There are travelling exhibitions run by all three services. There are information facilities and Open Days at barracks, naval and air bases.

Anyone who feels so inclined can learn

Continued on page 5

Minister's ban: legal grey area

After Ramstein people are still wondering whether Bonn Defence Minister Rupert Scholz is in any position, let alone entitled, to ban Allied air shows in Germany.

Defence Ministry officials have entered the fray to explain that the Minister's ban on air shows of this kind "for all time" applied principally to demonstration flights by the Luftwaffe.

But what about Allied air forces with bases of their own in the Federal Republic of Germany? Ministry officials say the Minister's ruling must be understood primarily, where the Allies are concerned, as a "statement of political intent."

Officials have only just begun to reread the legal provisions governing relations between German and Allied authorities.

Relations have run so smoothly for so many years that little or no consideration has been given to the legal niceties. After Ramstein they have been reviewed.

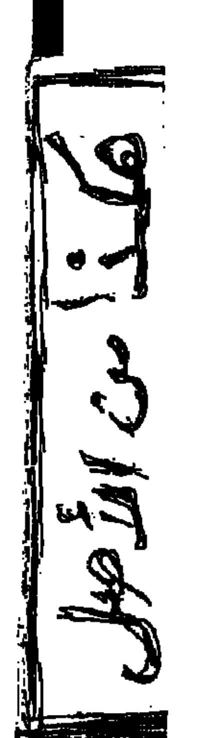
Article 3 of the 1963 amendments to the Nato troop statutes is said to be the crucial regulation. It calls for close cooperation between German and Allied authorities in the event of difficulties arising.

US ambassador Richard Burt says there is not the slightest need to refer to this provision. The United States, he said, "is keen to cooperate closely with the German government and the German people to ensure that nothing of the kind ever happens again."

Defence Ministry officials in Bonn note that the United States had already shown that what Mr Burt said was exactly what it meant.

An air show planned for 4 September at Hahn US Air Force base was called off voluntarily by the US authorities.

(Die Welt, Bonn, 31 August 1988)



No shortage of pilots for aerobatic units

Spectacular aerial displays in which jets shoot sky-high and flight squadrons hedge-hop overhead, performing complicated manoeuvres and criss-crossing at almost the speed of sound have thrilled millions of people in East and West for decades.

The more spectacular and the louder, the better. Warnings by airline pilots and environmentalists have been ignored.

Yet many of the millions of spectators who have been delighted over the years by the aerial feats of the daring young men in their flying machines would have had been less enthusiastic if they had known how many pilots have died over the years and what conditions they work in.

There isn't a single well-known aerobatics squadron in the world, and roughly two dozen come to mind, that hasn't lost many of its best pilots over the years.

This is as true of the US Blue Angels as it is of the Patrouille de France and of the British Red Arrows. The Red Arrows have lost nearly an entire squadron in the past few years, almost entirely in training.

At Ramstein, all that happened was what has repeatedly happened in training over deserted wasteland or out at sea.

Planes are usually flown almost wingtip to wingtip, often at speeds of 600-800kph (324-432 knots).

Pilots fly to the strict instructions of their squadron leader, who is constantly on the air, subject to a twofold strain as he too loops the loop and so on.

It is all learnt in years of training. And despite the fatal accidents to Britain's Red Arrows, the best young RAF pilots have always wanted to qualify for enrolment this ace unit. And the story is much the same in other countries.

Even in the Bundeswehr there have been frequent attempts to set up a special squadron of this kind. The first serious attempt was promptly abandoned when, in the early 1960s, death struck in training.

The Defence Ministry decided against setting up a German aerobatics squadron. But that didn't end attempts to circumvent this ruling in practice.

The Vikings, a fleet air arm squadron from Eggebek in Schleswig-Holstein, have performed impressively at many air shows, such as at Hanover.

Bans on flying over built-up areas or dense crowds have never been taken seriously and mostly ignored, even at Hanover, where an accident along Ramstein lines could never have been entirely ruled out.

Karl Morgenstern

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 30 August 1988)

Where it happened: Ramstein, major US European base

Ramstein is the largest military airfield in Europe and reputed to be the most important US Air Force base in Europe.

Pershing 2 and cruise missiles airlifted from America to be stationed in Germany were flown there. So were reinforcements for US troop operations in the Middle East.

Back in the days of the war in Indo-China, most supplies flown to Vietnam from Europe were shipped from Ramstein.

The base has been called the US aircraft carrier in Germany because of the military installations it houses.

They include the USAF command and the Nato Central European air command staff.

The Starnberg peace policy research institute says nuclear warheads are stockpiled there too. About 8,000 people work at the airfield.

Roughly 15,000 US service personnel and their families live nearby.

The Kaiserslautern area has the largest US troop concentration outside the United States, consisting of 50,000 US Army and Air Force personnel and their families.

Ramstein last hit the headlines when 17 people were injured in a terrorist bomb raid on the US headquarters building on 31 August 1981.

AP/dpa

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 29 August 1988)

PERSPECTIVE

The treaty Moscow is still trying to forget about

WELT am SONNTAG

There are some anniversaries people prefer to forget. The Soviet Union obviously felt that the 49th anniversary of the German-Soviet non-aggression pact between Hitler and Stalin on 23 August was one of them.

In the wake of growing glasnost and perestroika the sensational agreement has again become the centre of controversial discussion.

The Soviet Union must cast more light on this dark chapter in its history and tell its people that it was Stalin who, in August 1939, rid Hitler of his nightmare of a war on two fronts and paved the way for his conquest of the European Continent.

The crux of the pact was not so much the non-aggression agreement between the German Reich and Soviet Union as the secret supplementary protocol of the same date.

The protocol delineated the mutual spheres of interest of the two powers in Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union was allotted Finland, the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, the eastern part of Poland and Bessarabia (which belonged to Romania at that time).

According to the protocol, the partitioning of Europe and the destruction of Poland as set up following the Treaty of Versailles were envisaged in the event of "territorial and political changes" in Europe.

These changes came about just a few days after the non-aggression pact was signed when Hitler invaded Poland.

In reply to the question by the author of this article as to when the Soviet Union would finally acknowledge the existence of the protocol it has so far insistently denied, the Soviet ambassador in Bonn, Valentin Falin, asked a question of his own: "Have you seen the original protocol?"

During the discussion Falin explained that, although he has personal access to the Moscow archives (as opposed to most Soviet and western historians), his search for the secret protocol has been of no avail.

The original is not in German archives. At the time it was not kept in the general files of the Foreign Office in Berlin, but in the office of the Reich's Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop, and was destroyed along with other secret files in the final phase of the war.

However, a microfilm exists in the Political Archives of the Foreign Office in Bonn (Film No. 19, pages 182/183), which shows the document bearing the signatures of Germany's Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop and the Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov.



Until death us do part (which it did): Moscow Foreign Minster Molotov signs the non-aggression pact in 1939. At extreme left is German Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop; next to him is Stalin. (Photo: Süddeutscher Verlag)

The film belongs to a series of microfilms photographed in the Berlin Foreign Office from documents taken from the files of the Foreign Minister's Office (RAM) in 1943 and 1944.

This film is the basis for the verbatim version of the "Secret Supplementary Protocol" to the German-Soviet non-aggression pact signed on 23 August, 1939, in the relevant documentary publications.

Interested readers can find the protocol text in large West German libraries in *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik 1918-1945*, series D, Vol. VIII, doc. 158 and 159.

The original of the map showing the final line of demarcation drawn through Poland along the River Bug, part of the (second) Secret Supplementary Protocol to the Frontier and Friendship Agreement signed on 28 September, 1939, is kept in the Bonn Foreign Office.

Even though this map shows the clearly legible signatures of Stalin and Molotov the Soviet Union still also denies the existence of this second protocol.

Why does Gorbachov refuse to acknowledge the existence of a historical fact for which there is documentary evidence and which is the subject of research by internationally respected contemporary historians?

Open-minded historiographers have no doubt that Hitler could neither have started the war nor achieved his initial military successes without the strategic backing and the (negotiated) economic support of the Soviet Union after autumn 1939.

The situation immediately before the outbreak of war is best described (including the latest historical insights) in a book published in Berlin in 1988 by the Cologne historian Andreas Hillgruber (publishers: Ullstein/Propyläen) entitled *Die Zerstörung Europas — Beiträge zur Weltkriegsepoche 1914 bis 1945*.

Hillgruber writes: "The decisive factor for Stalin — this should be particularly emphasised — was not territorial gains, but his will not to prevent the war but to indirectly trigger it — with Hitler as the 'unleashing' protagonist."

By rejecting the "Grand Alliance" with France and Britain and by signing the non-aggression pact with the expansionist German Reich Stalin manoeuvred the Soviet Union into the best position since the 1917 Revolution

His strategy, the details of which are clearly outlined in original documents of that period, set out to push the "imperialist" states (in Stalin's eyes Germany, France, Britain, the USA and Japan) into a war of attrition so as to be able to decisively tip the scales in favour of the Soviet Union at the right moment.

Stalin hoped that the Soviet Union would be able to live in peace and to build up its armament potential while the other nations were engaged in battle.

It is obvious that Gorbachov does not view the "Pact with the Devil" (Hitler), which opened the "window to war" for an aggressive but, in terms of power and resources, weaker Germany, as a glorious chapter in the Soviet Union's history.

During his speech in 1987 on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution Gorbachov tried to justify the Hitler-Stalin pact, but yet again made no mention of the decisive secret supplementary protocol in which Hitler bought the support of the Soviet Union via his cynical philosophy of partitioning Europe.

The pact was the biggest intrigue in diplomatic history. It represented a Soviet policy option which was by no means ruled out by the war and post-war developments.

Germany still assumes a key political function for the Soviet Union.

In the opinion of a number of well-known historians the Hitler-Stalin pact was the culmination of the "Soviet search for an alliance with Germany", which began with the Treaty of Rapallo on 16 April, 1922, and which, in line with political logic, was interrupted for an interim phase via the Stalin-Malenkov notes between 1952 and 1955.

The thread of this logic could be resumed.

Herbert Kremp

(Welt am Sonntag, Hamburg, 28 August 1988)

Continued from page 4

more about Bundeswehr manpower and equipment at such events without having field guns trained at him or jet fighters hedge-hopping overhead.

"Realistic" training is dangerous enough for servicemen as it is; civilians must be kept out of harm's way no matter how interested they may be in such displays.

What the Defence Minister must now do is not just ban aerobatics but ban all flights and flypasts in which military aircraft are flown merely for parade purposes. Low-altitude flying for training purposes is, as Herr Scholz recently said, a price society must pay for its security. Up to a point he is right.

But demonstration flights that are simply displays of danger for danger's sake have nothing whatever to do with security; quite the opposite.

They undermine the security of society and widen the tangible and demonstrable gap between the general public and the armed forces.

Kurt Kister

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 30 August 1988)

■ THE ECONOMY

Increase in exports gives production timely boost

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Exports in the first half of the year were up 19 per cent compared with the first half last year. This has caused a major boost to economic confidence.

It is true that the improvement has also had much to do with a recovery in the building industry, but the decisive reason for planned increase in production and investment has been the momentum in exports.

Exports have been called the engine of the economy. Before the beginning of this year, there had been long, sluggish periods.

These fits of the doldrums were linked to the slower economic pace of western industrialised trading partners and the revaluation of the deutschemark by 80 per cent against the dollar in comparison with 10 per cent against most important European currencies from early 1985 to the end of 1987.

But things have changed totally since the beginning of the year. The economies of Germany's most important trading partners, the EEC countries, has improved. This has meant a noticeable increase in demand for German products.

To this can be added the about-turn on currency markets. Since the beginning of the year the dollar has tended to rise. This has meant a devaluation of the mark of 17 per cent in a short space of time — in real terms more so when taking into consideration the changing rate of wage costs per unit of output.

There has been a trend for improvement in the competitive position of German suppliers. In dollar terms, German goods have become cheaper.

The healthy economic situation among trading partners and the improved competitive position have stimulated demand for German products.

The decisive upswing of the inflow of orders in manufacturing industries emanates clearly from demand from abroad.

In the second quarter of this year orders from abroad, in real terms and seasonally adjusted against the first quarter, increased a good three per cent, three times more strongly than domestic orders.

The capital goods industry has profited from this. This is true for road vehicle manufacture and the engineering industry.

Foreign orders in the car industry have ensured that production, not particularly brisk in the first few months of this year, is once again going at top speed.

In the engineering industry, one of the most important investment sectors, orders from abroad increased 21 per cent in real terms in the first half of the year (in comparison with the same period in 1987), three times more than domestic orders.

The electrical engineering industry, basic materials, chemicals producer goods and the iron and steel producing industry also have improved export opportunities.

Over the next few months it is expected that developments in exports will be brisk. According to the latest economic survey by the Munich-based Ifo Institute businessmen expect improvements not only in consumption but also in investment.

Economic forecasts in western industrialised countries and for world trade as a whole have become increasingly more confident over the past few months.

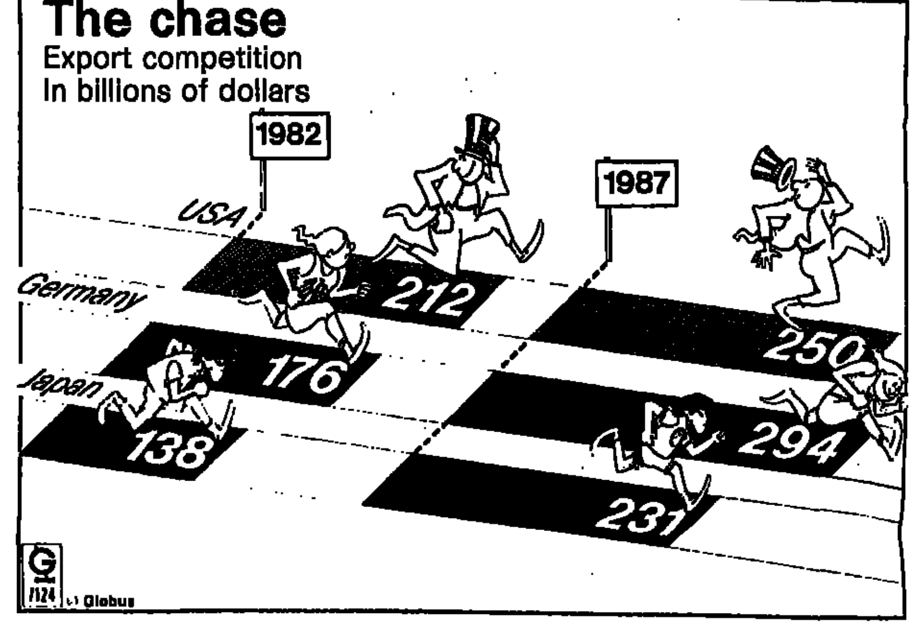
Observers see a new surge forward in the latest production figures from the United States, the most important industrial country and world trading partner.

It is expected that the US national product will increase four per cent in the third quarter of this year, after a three per cent increase in the third quarter.

Britain is in the eighth year of an upswing. It is expected that total economic performance will probably increase in real terms by 3.5 to four per cent in 1988.

Brisk expansion is expected in France and Italy, and in Japan demand and production are again growing outstandingly.

Growth this year in real terms among the industrialised countries as a whole could reach a good three per cent, exceeding last year's increase.



The exceptional increase in import demand implies a grow in real terms of six per cent probably in world trade — as opposed to five per cent last year.

German industry will benefit from this, for more than a half of production is accounted for by captial goods.

The forecasts for the year as a whole predict that exports will increase again by four per cent.

Due to the lively domestic market imports are expected to increase outstandingly in 1988.

Prospects should have improved to make it possible to reduce the high trade surpluses, recorded until now, and the balance on current account. But because of reduced import costs this has not happened.

As a result in June the export surplus was DM14.2bn, the highest monthly surplus ever recorded.

In the first half of this year the trade surplus was DM59bn, exceeding the record set in the first half of last year.

It is obvious that it is difficult to run down the enormous export imbalance Japan has made progress in reducing the its surplus and the United States has gone some way towards reducing its trade deficit. But efforts in Tokyo and Washington are regarded as being insufficient.

As the Federal Republic's export prices have risen and import prices have fallen, it is not expected that the huge trade surplus will be reduced for the time being despite the steep rise in imports during 1988.

Lothar Julitz

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 24 August 1988)

Signs of boom, but also of lesser ideals

If the continuing high rate of unemployment is ignored, few are likely to find grounds for criticising the performance of the German economy.

Does this mean a golden age is on the way? Or not?

Forgotten are the times when the German economy was reckoned to be weakening disastrously. For example: after international stock and foreign exchange markets crashed on 19 October last year; when interest-subsidising measures were launched; and when projections for the national budget deficit went ever higher.

Unfortunately the dispute over customs and excise duties has not been dealt with. The improved economic outlook could lead to a situation where people would be spared from natural gas tax by massive increases in customs and excise revenues.

That would not be evidence in any way of foresighted finance policies, that have recently been far too concerned with the chances of a budgetary imbalance.

Despite all, the German economy is going along in an orderly manner. Over the past few months the gross national product growth rate has constantly been revised upwards.

No-one ever forecast such a trend, not even the Economic Affairs Minister in Bonn, although Minister Martin Bangemann was better at making projections for the economy at the beginning of the year than others.

The Federal Republic is not among those countries in the world riding the economic crest of the wave. The growth rate in the USA and Japan is steeper.

After six years of continuous economic growth the German economy does not have to hide the fact that it has an increase in production of 2.5 per cent.

We have become more modest. Compared with earlier periods, there has been a clear weakening in what the economy can perform.

A contributory factor has certainly been distressed sectors of the economy such as agriculture, coal, aviation and shipbuilding, on which the state has lavished care and attention. Structural changes can only be brought about to a limited extent.

The economy has done well this year — hopefully there will be no unexpected fluctuations in exchange rates. There are no signs that this is likely.

At the end of the year the growth rate could be at the three per cent level. Otto Schlecht, state secretary at the Economic Affairs Ministry, believes the growth rate will be more than three per cent.

Compared with the same period last year the inflow of orders has increased steeply, led by domestic demand.

Private consumpton has become a dominant stimulus to the economy taking up 50 per cent of gross national product.

Investment has increased from the poor state it was in a few years ago.

Exports are profiting clearly from the rise in international demand. It is expected that imports will increase more markedly than exports — but for how long more?

The devaluation tendencies of the deutschemark continue to be a thorn in the side of the Bundesbank. The enormous surplus on current account is unchanged.

Contrary to previous years sinking net exports of goods and services, in real terms, were no longer masked by sinking import prices, but the adjustment period will last a very long time.

One of the main dangers for future developments is to be found here. It must be taken into account that next year it can be assumed the international economic upswing will be threatened by the US.

No matter who moves into the White House, Washington will have to do something about the high budget deficit, be it by increasing taxes or reducing state spending.

Nevertheless there is restrained optimism about the future. It is expected that the Federal Republic will achieve a growth rate of two per cent in 1989, despite the burden of higher customs and excise duties.

The advantages of the major tax reform will only be felt in domestic demand in 1990.

The Bonn government assumes that the present growth rate can be maintained until 1992.

It remains to be see if that is realistic. Certainly the Bonn government is prepared to introduce a few more reforms. But will that really lead to relief on costs?

The doubts will be particularly appropriate if workers should seek for a larger share of profits. That ought to awaken covetousness on both sides of the wage-negotiating table.

The dispute about shop-opening hours in the evening is yet another sign of how inflexible the German economy has become.

Hans-Jürgen Mahnke

(Die Welt, Bonn, 13 August 1988)

■ THE ECONOMY

Private detectives used to track down cowboys in the construction industry

Catching tax-dodgers in the building trade is difficult. But it is such a common practice that some chambers of trade hire private detectives to trace the cowboy firms.

Chambers of Trade (Handwerkskammer) represent bona fide tax-paying firms in the very trades that are hit by high taxes and price-cutting by cowboys.

The casually dressed private eye strolls equally casually on to building site and chats with building workers he meets. But his educated eye is looking for clues that illegally employed bricklayers, tilers and fitters are being used.

In one recent case, the local government authority imposed a DM120,000 fine, the highest-ever for "black work," as it is called in German, in the Rhine-Main region, after evidence provided by a private eye.

An estimated 10 per cent of trades turnover is done on a "cash down and no questions asked" basis.

The Rhine-Main Handwerkskammer says its members' legal, tax- and insurance-paid turnover amounts to about DM20bn, the cowboys' turnover to about DM2bn a year.

The countrywide figure for moonlighting must be well over DM40bn, mostly in the building and car repair trades.

This enormous sum of money changes hands without so much as a pfennig being paid in income tax, turnover tax, trade taxes, value-added tax, social security, health and unemployment insurance contributions.

Otto Hegen, the chamber's business manager, does not see "black work" as a venial sin or feat of prowess to be admired.

Moonlighters, he says, are parasites. They boost unemployment via a vicious circle of "cost and effect."

Unemployment and correspondingly lower turnover force the authorities to charge higher rates of tax and insurance contributions, pushing up wage incidentals and making tradesmen's services more expensive.

Working people have to pay more, can't afford to do so and turnover is hit. Full circle.

A journeyman, he says, earns roughly DM10 an hour after deductions. His employer has to charge about DM50 an hour. An hour's work on the side costs a mere DM25 — and both parties benefit.

The contractor pays half the going rate and the tradesman earns more than twice his normal take-home pay.

"Combating unemployment is the best way of fighting moonlighting," says Bernd Schütt of IG Bau, the building workers' union, in Frankfurt.

In principle he too is strictly opposed to moonlighting. But he sees it as "a way of making ends meet" for unemployed men who have difficulty in finding a job (for age or health reasons, say). IG Bau sees cowboy employers as an even more serious problem. They are the firms that send in entire gangs of workers for whom tax and insurance are not paid.

"On a small scale and an individual basis," he says, "the economy can cope with moonlighting."

To enable bona fide employers to get a wink's sleep the Rhine-Main Handwerkskammer employs an ex-policeman as a private eye. He investigates complaints made by tradesmen, neighbours and customers.

A building site in Rodgau-Jügesheim, south of Frankfurt, is a typical part of his day's work. It is half an hour's drive from his office. On the site he finds two bricklayers building the foundations.

Asked how much they are being paid, they sanctimoniously assure him that they are working for nothing — as a personal favour, so to speak.

The "private eye" makes a note of the time, place and identity of the building workers.

He then calls on the contractor, two minutes' drive away in Jügesheim. He too says they are close personal friends who are doing him a personal favour.

But their respective statements contradict each other. The bricklayers say they and the contractor drink their beer at the same "local," whereas the contractor says they have been close friends since meeting on holiday in Yugoslavia.

The "private eye" is in no doubt that this is a clear case of moonlighting. He has come across the two bricklayers in a similar situation in the past. They are, in his view, professional "cowboys."

He notifies the local government authority in Darmstadt, the inland revenue, the health insurance and the labour exchange. Official investigations then begin.

These two are but a drop in the ocean. The chamber's "private eye" investigates roughly 700 cases a year, 300 of which he refers to Darmstadt.

Last year fines totalling over DM600,000 were imposed in 138 cases. The highest single fine was DM80,000.

Fines have increased substantially in number in recent years, but in most cases they amount to between DM2,000 and DM4,000, which hardly bears comparison with estimated turnover of DM2bn.

Otto Hegen says the state ought to play a more active role. The authorities ought to do more investigating. But the authorities are so short of staff they see no likelihood of being able to do so.

Besides, it's an ill wind that blows noone any good. Building materials suppliers earn a good living from what moonlighters buy, and do-it-yourself centres owe them much of their turnover.

Many a building would not have been built if the lower rates charged by moonlighters had been out of the question.

On bad days the private eye feels his job can be disappointing. He frequently makes no headway whatever.

It is often extremely difficult to prove that work is being done for pay on which tax and insurance are not paid, as he knows only too well.

Yet he untiringly works a six-day week, paying tax and insurance on his own salary, to track offenders down.

Joachim Mohr

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 30 August 1988)

No hope of a decline in unemployment

Munich economists see no hope of a decline in unemployment this decade. They expect it to continue to increase, slowly but surely.

The Ifo economic research institute forecasts about 50,000 more jobless at the end of this year than at the end of 1987 and average unemployment of 2,300,000 next year, or a further increase of 30,000.

This trend is largely due to the growing number of people of working age. This year should end with a fairly bumper net increase of 100,000 in Germans of working age, not to mention the growing influence of ethnic German migrants from Eastern Europe.

Besides, this year has seen an above-average growth rate in the number of migrant workers, by over 50,000, while next year the end of early retirement provisions is sure to affect the figures.

New jobs will not be enough to absorb this increase in manpower. Ifo estimates the number of new jobs created this year at 130,000, or 25,000 more than in 1987.

This increase is largely due to the overall increase in output. The construction industry, despite a high growth rate, has made little or no contribution by way of new jobs.

In manufacturing industry continued economic recovery has only recently been reflected in extra staff being hired, for most part only in the capital goods industry.

By mid-1988 the higher number of new jobs was due almost exclusively to the service trades.

Since mid-1987 they have hired an extra 190,000 men and women, while the payroll has declined by 60,000 in manufacturing industry and by 15,000 in agriculture.

In the process part-time working has assumed increasing importance, with 15 per cent of staff in the service trades

Frankfurter Allgemeine

working part-time, as against 3.5 per cent in industry.

In the retail trades and at the Bundespost one job in five is part-time. Last year and this, over half the new hirings were (or have been) part-timers.

The number of women gainfully employed has increased faster than that of men. Between the end of 1983 and mid-1988 women accounted for over 500,000 of 730,000 new jobs created.

In the service trades 850,000 new jobs were created in this three-and-a-half-year period.

Another clear trend has been in favour of salaried, white-collar staff (as opposed to wage-earners). Seven out of eight new jobs were salary-earning.

There may be growing complaints about a shortage of skilled workmen, Ifo research staff say, but they are limited in the main to higher-growth regions.

Besides, many skilled workers are happy to do semi-skilled work because it pays better.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 29 August 1988)

■ ADVERTISING

Defining the use and misuse of women

Advertising battles everywhere for attention — in newspapers, magazines, on the radio and television, on street hoardings.

Eye-catching is the essence. Women are eye-catching. The arguments about the image of women as presented in advertising have sometimes taken on grotesque forms in a time of female emancipation and increasing public sensitivity to women's problems.

The German Advertising Council, the Bonn-based body that voluntarily exercises controls over the industry, pointed out years ago that it disapproved of representing women in a disparaging, disrespectful or degrading manner in advertising.

The Council went on to point out that it was not in advertisers' interests to publish anti-female or discriminatory advertising; women's rejection of the advertising could have an affect on the product.

This has been familiar wisdom to advertising executives and designers for a long time, and has ensured that the depiction of naked women in advertising has a rarity value.

After an examination of 2,614 adverts at the beginning of this year by the Advertising Council — the organisation also deals with public complaints about advertising — the controllers confirmed that only *five (0.2 per cent)* TV ads showed nakedness which had nothing to do with the product advertised.

There were 26 depictions of unclothed women. In most cases the depiction had a direct and obvious connection with the product advertised — bath salts, stockings, plasters for rheumatism, suntan equipment and so on.

A recent survey conducted by the Emnid Institute, Bielefeld, showed how women's self-assurance has changed: 78 per cent of the women questioned had nothing against displays of female nakedness in advertising. 26 per cent were irritated by repeated displays of naked females, only four per cent were offended, while 59 per cent were indifferent.

Another study from Mannheim University showed how women were depicted in advertising. They were shown in various social backgrounds in this order of frequency: leisure (33 per cent), the world of work and careers (21 per cent) and in third place, the women in family life (19 per cent).

The image of "the little wife in the kitchen" has long been a thing of the past. The results of objective surveys of this kind are apparently unknown in government circles in Bonn or have been ignored.

Emancipation fanatics devote themselves with zeal to alleged incidents of female discrimination in advertising, led by officials at the Family Affairs Ministry, who have increased the suspicion that apparently there are no real problems any longer for the implementation of equal opportunities for men and women in our society.

These apostles of equal opportunity in the Family Affairs Ministry raise a smile rather than stimulate serious consideration of the matter in their far-fetched interpretations of the contents of advertisements. CDU media expert Dieter Weirich recently took a close look at the cases that were cause for complaint by the Family Affairs Ministry to the Advertising Council.

Bundestag member Weirich said: "A woman wearing an expensive necklace with an ordinary low-cut gown, which should the worst come to the worst radiated something erotic for furtive visitors to sex shops, advertised a computer print-out machine. The ad copy read 'Some like it hot.' The youth protection department of the Family Affairs Ministry protested that this was anti-female.

"The Advertising Council commented: 'The woman is not provocative but extremely charming.'

"The legs of a pouting, seated secretary were used to advertise office furniture. The team of female officials at the Ministry did not complain about the display of her magnificent legs but took offence that the secretary had thrown her personal computer to the ground in obvious irritation because of her uncomfortable office chair.

"The Ministry complained that the ad discriminated against women, since a fifth of all working women worked with a computer. You need to have quite an imagination to be able to understand these criticisms."

Weirich came to the conclusion that the grounds for the compaints were counter-productive to efforts to prevent anti-female advertising.

With the liberalisation of sexual criminal law in 1973 the state gave up its rights to interfer with a citizen's sex-life, unaltered for more than 100 years.

The consequences of this can be seen in the editorial departments of newspapers, magazines and television programmes.

Double standards prevail: extremely petty assessments of industrial advertising and extreme restrain in criticism of journalists and programme producers.

Advertising is a reflection of our society. It must speak with the language of

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

the times to be heard. So advertising is obliged to encompass developments in society if it is to be accepted.

The complainers in the Family Affairs Ministry have discovered a fatal meticulousness in tracking down discrimination against women.

An attractive young woman descends a staircase, takes a broom from a more or less helpless male's hands and flys off on it. The beautiful "Witch Isabell" is hurrying off to get a premium allowed on building society savings.

This is an amusing advertising spot (used as a newspaper ad as well) and shows effectively how cleverly and quickly modern young women can react. That is the idea intended.

The Ministry for Family, Women's and Youth Affairs did not see the ad in this way. Officials at this Ministry saw in it a disparagement of women and protested strongly.

Their reasons were that witch hunts were the beginning of the suppression of women. They had misgivings about the associations "Racy Isabell" would have in the minds of young people, such as persuading men from the path of virtue, murdering children and so on.

Such examples only show how ridiculously bureaucrats can react. But the Family Affairs Ministry has confirmed that there has been a decline in the number of cases of advertising discriminat-

Continued on page 10

Problem: a deluge; the aim: making your drop drip first

So much advertising is floating around that people are taking less notice of it. A research body says the German consumer takes notice of less than 2 per cent of the advertising he or she sees. The rest is consigned to the rubbish bin or is ignored.

The Institute for Consumer and Behaviour Research at the University of the Saar says this is because there is an excess of information in this country of 98 per cent — just like in America and Japan.

The excess increases year after year, because information is being provided faster than the demand for it.

It is expected that the number of television channels running advertising will doubled over the next 10 to 12 years — but it is unlikely that viewers will turn to advertising any more than they do today.

Because of the deluge of advertising, information is absorbed more selectively, more sketchily and in a more fragmentary manner than it used to be.

Full-page advertisements in magazines such as *Stern* or *Der Spiegel* are looked at on average for two seconds. Advertisements in special interest magazines are also only given a few seconds' attention.

TV advertising is also only watched sketchily. Viewers' contact with the ads falls off because of a lack of interest more often than not in the first half of the ad.

These results are confirmed by various surveys conducted by research institutes.

Of the two seconds the consumer gives over to an advertisement in a magazine, more than a half of this time is spent looking at the picture. There is less than a second remaining to take in the advertising text. This is enough time to take in a headline containing a few words.

An exception is advertising directed at deeply involved target groups, such as ads that concern Aids. Such exceptions are rare, however.

Those who expect advertising to perform an informational function should bear these facts in mind.

Advertising does include information indeed. On average between 35 to 40 seconds would be needed to take in the information on an advertising page.

But the actual transfer of information is limited, reduced to a viewing time of two seconds, so that the information gleaned is only a fragmentary part of the whole advertising message.

This is true even for advertising for up-market consumer goods such as cars and computers.

Advertising will forfeit its information function with the progressive excess of information. In the future advertising will increasingly be limited to drawing attention to "unique selling proposition".

This implies that advertising is charged with making a selling proposition "visible" within the flood of advertising information.

The aim is to make a brand conspicuous, to make a brand-name well-known. For all practical purposes factual information about a product will no longer be provided. (Additional information will be provided by other channels apart from advertising.)

Whether a product is brought to consumers' attention and is accepted will depend on whether the advertisement does not sink unnoticed in the flood of advertising.

This problem becomes ever more important for the increase in the excess of information has the effect that more and more appeals are made to consumers to notice this, try that, buy, go, donate and so on.

The flood of appeals make it difficult for the consumer to find products that come up to his wishes. On the other hand it becomes more and more difficult for the producer to gain the attention of the consumer for his product.

To attract the attention of a consumer to a selling proposition advertising is falling back on stimulation techniques. Intensive, "varied and noisy" stimuli are applied as well as emotional, and intellectually surprising, stimuli.

Advertising, which by its presentation more strongly stimulates the consumer, has a better chance of making headway against competiting advertising.

As consumers react to a large extent automatically to the employment of stimulation techniques, the consumer's knowledge of the market is determined to a considerable extent by the stimulation potential of the various advertising campaigns.

In other words, it comes to piloting attention towards a product and with that to a "hidden persuaders" influence on the media public's view of the market.

As has already been mentioned advertising today is mainly involved in communication by pictures. The picture dominates television and in newspaper and magazine advertising consumers prefer to turn to the illustrations.

In advertising pictures serve the following purposes:

- they anchor a product in the memory and so make sure that the product is kept in mind. For example the crocodile used by Lacoste, the sportswear manufacturers, or the pink elephant used by German Railways;
- they provide an emotional experience, giving the product an emotional profile. For example: the Wild West pictures of Marlboro cigarettes or the Wells Fargo Bank;
- they illustrate a product's qualities. For example: illustrating the absorbent qualities of various nappies in Pamper advertising, manufacturers of babies' nappies.

Pictures are particularly suitable for achieving these aims because they catch the eye more, they can make the reality more credible and can be remembered better than a message in words.

Pictures can be processed in the memory automatically with less effort. This is why the use of pictures is the ideal way to influence passive and uninvolved consumers.

From a political point of view this presents problems. If one wants to regulate [illegible]ising-messages included in advertising it is of prime importance that the use of pictures should be regulated also. In discussions about regulating advertising this aspect is usually ignored.

The "manipulation effects" of advertising can be traced to the influence of pictures. "Manipulation" can be understood to mean influencing behaviour in such a way that the consumer is unaware of this. This happens to a considerable extent with the influence of picture communication.

Pictures heighten the consumer's awareness of realities without his being able to control this knowingly.

It should not be overlooked that such effects are not limited to advertising. They appear in every system of communication.

Werner Kroeber-Riel

(Das Parlament, Bonn, 12 August 1988)

■ AVIATION

Bid to develop vertical take-off aircraft for commercial and military use

Twenty-five years after the first vertical take-off by a German aircraft, fresh attempts are being made to get a commercial aircraft airborne from a standing start.

Dornier are working with Bell and Boeing on the VTOL Osprey, a military transporter which could be converted to civilian use, for the US Defence Department. Prototypes are expected to be airborne by 1991.

Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm have joined forces with British, French, Italian and Spanish manufacturers to design and build the Eurofar, or European Future Advanced Rotorcraft, unveiled at the Hanover air show last May.

Vertical take-off and landing (VTOL) would solve many air travel problems. Travellers would take off and land at city-centre heliports.

Domestic and foreign manufacturers are enthusiastic about the advantages of inter-city air links.

But the idea is nothing new. There was similar talk in the early 1960s.

The idea of convertible aircraft made sense 25 years ago. It was to combine the advantages of a swing wing, enabling planes to take off and land on a helipad, with those of fixed wings, which enable planes to travel at high cruising speeds.

This time the idea is to use a swing rotor. It will provide elevation from a horizontal position at take-off, then gradually tilt forward into the vertical position, providing horizontal acceleration.

Back in the 1950s the experimental Bell XV-3 successfully made this transition, but the Bell research programme was officially terminated in 1966.

The techniques available at the time were felt to be too expensive, to require too much maintenance and to be too complicated to warrant the risks that would be run in carrying passengers.

Work on swing rotors was never entirely abandoned, however. Jets or rotors have at times been designed to tilt at the wingtip, making vertical take-off and landing possible.

On other occasions the swing-wing concept was preferred or the jet was to be reversed or diverted to enable aircraft to hover.

This principle is incorporated in the Harrier, the British jump jet, with its jets pointed either back or down for the corresponding thrust.

In the Federal Republic of Germany

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

no fewer than three ambitious and expensive vertical take-off aircraft were designed and built in the 1960s.

They were the VJ 101 fighter, the VAK 191 reconnaissance fighter and the Do 31 transporter. All three successfully switched from hover to forward flight and gained international acclaim.

But they all ended up as museum exhibits, partly for technical reasons and on conceptual grounds — but partly because the German air force command was so shocked by the swift succession of crashes by Luftwaffe Lockheed Starfighters that they decided discretion was the better part of valour where untried and untested progress was concerned.

It is ironic that the Germans have now decided, almost 25 years to the day after the first vertical take-off by a German plane (the VJ 101 X1 on 8 October 1963), to rejoin the fray.

This time the venture is planned on a smaller scale, using a conventional rotor rather than a jet, but even so German aerospace firms are back in business.

Dornier, for instance, have joined forces with Bell and Boeing to develop swing-rotor aircraft for the German market.

Dornier can look back on invaluable experience with the Do 31, the world's first vertical take-off transport aircraft, while the new model will be based on the Bell Boeing V-22 Osprey, a bigger and more powerful brother of the tried and trusted Bell XV-15.

US aircraft and aero engine designers have nursed the Osprey from the drawing-board to the testbed to the production line for the Defence Department.

The Osprey is said to be tailor-made to suit US military requirements; its R&D was certainly generously funded by the Pentagon.

An order of 700 Ospreys is planned for the US armed forces — for air-sea rescue use, for hunting submarines, for aerial reconnaissance, for transport use and for special duties such as electronic ("computer") warfare.

The first prototypes are scheduled for delivery in 1991.

The Osprey will travel at up to 630kph, or 340 knots, and could, with its take-off weight of roughly 25 tonnes, be useful as an air taxi or commuter aircraft seating 35-40 passengers.

Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm would also like to prove that a swing-rotor aircraft can successfully combine the helicopter's hover with the cruising speed of conventional planes.

MBB unveiled a model of the Eurofar, short for European Future Advanced Rotorcraft, at last May's Hanover air show.

Its partners in what is to be a European venture are Aérospatiale of France, Agusta of Italy, Casa of Spain and Westland Helicopters of Britain.

It is partly funded by the Eureka research programme. In the Federal Republic grants are being made by the Research and Technology Ministry.

The initial technology, concept and definition phase is scheduled for three years, which would mean a maiden flight for the European swing-rotor plane in 1994.

A series prototype could then be airborne two and a half years later, always assuming there were no hitches. Series manufacture ought then, MBB say, to be possible from the year 2000.

The new technique, the Munich-based aerospace group says, marks "the point of entry into a new and epoch-making technology that will exert a fundamental influence on the international helicopter market of the future."

Hype of this kind has been heard often enough in the past. German and foreign manufacturers have frequently claimed that their version of "convertible" techniques was the answer to a maiden's prayer:

- At the 1955 Paris air show the model of a Franco-German vertical take-off coleopter was unveiled. It was said to have a bright future, but little more was heard of it.
- In 1967 Professor Messerschmitt unveiled his Me 408 rotor jet as the "aircraft of the future." The rotors were to be used only for vertical take-off and landing and to be retracted in flight. But for lack of cash "uplift" the idea never did get airborne.
- In 1969 Hamburger Flugzeugbau mooted the idea of an HFB 600 90-seater "Vertibus" to catapult passengers from city to city and ease the pressure on busy airports. It too got nowhere. The main argument advanced in support of these plans was, as it is today, flexibility. VTOL planes being able to land on (or take off from) a parking lot or a hotel roof, expensive new airports and airport extensions need not be built.

Heliports are said to hold the key. Inevitably so, as aircraft designers and manufacturers are keen to sell their products. Counter-arguments have usually been ignored.

Asked how he rated the prospects of combination rotor- and propeller-engined planes, a Lufthansa spokesman said in 1969:

"Technically and operationally they would be a welcome step forward, but we doubt whether they can ever be run at a profit."

Eurofar is to consist solely of improvements: new and improved technology, low-cost materials, new engines and, hopefully, greater economy and profitability.

The Eurofar is described by MBB as "a convertible helicopter, with wings with tilting rotors at their tips. Arranged horizontally, these rotors make vertical take-off and landing possible; arranged vertically, they transform the aircraft into a conventional propeller plane capable of travelling at conventional cruising speeds.

"In comparison with today's conventional helicopters it will travel at twice the speed and have twice the range. A cyclical steering system will make the Eurofar highly manoeuvrable in its helicopter configuration and well-behaved in transition to its conventional aircraft configuration."

A so-called reference model on which research work by the Eurofar consortium is based has the following data:

- Weight: roughly 13 tonnes at take-off
- Wingspan: 15 metres (49ft)
- Fuselage length: 19 metres (62ft)
- Rotor diameter: 11 metres (36ft, which is unusually long)
- Cruising speed: 850kph (460 knots) at 7,500 metres (24,600ft)
- Carbon-fibre fuselage seating 30 passengers.

The Eurofar's role is envisaged mainly as a commercial, regional, commuter and offshore supply aircraft. Market research is also probing the prospects for city-centre heliports.

Military versions are naturally envisaged too, for transport, support, supply, rescue and ship-based operations.

Whether the Eurofar will stand any military chance in Europe may well depend on whether the extremely expensive MFA multilateral fighter aircraft will leave European countries' defence budgets with any spare cash to invest in the idea.

One can only wish the aircraft industry well. May its latest VTOL ventures prove "tiltproof" — figuratively speaking.

Gerhard Taube

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 28 August 1988)

■ THE THEATRE

A director and his unpardonable search for perfection

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

There is no praise like a colleague's praise — particularly when that colleague is a theatre director.

"Peter Stein is the best director in Germany, the *only* champion of the German theatre," Claus Peymann told a national magazine in an interview. "You might like my like my productions but you have to admire his. He is the world champion in this country."

Peymann is the director of the Vienna Burgtheater. Stein was the director of the Schaubühne in West Berlin where the both of them had begun working together in 1970.

It was here at the trade-union-owned theatre that they had begun introducing democracy and politics to the theatre. They never looked back — until now.

Peymann, who for years had dominated West German municipal theatre with his companies in Stuttgart and Bochum, then left Germany to go take the post in Vienna.

He got into trouble over a "candid" magazine interview which almost cost him his job. Little wonder, because for foolishness, it stands out on its own.

Stein ended his association with the Schaubühne four years ago after a series of highly successful productions.

Twenty years ago, the two directors were the first to try and break the all-powerful strength of the director by introducing joint decision-making involving the entire company.

They had wanted to put their ideas into operation in the Frankfurt Schauspiel theatre but failed. They had to wait a few years for Berlin for another chance.

It was not Peter Stein's first defeat. He was sacked from Munich's Kammerspiel theatre in 1968 when, after he risked putting on his much-praised production of Edward Bond's *Saved* (1967), he allowed collections to be made in the theatre foyer for the Vietnamese Liberation Movement at the end of his production of Peter Weiss's *Vietnam-Diskurs*.

He went for a short time to Zürich but his term there ended with angry citizens' protests.

As a young guest director he put on stage Goethe's *Torquato Tasso* in Bremen in 1969. After the première the critics said that a new era had dawned in German theatre.

Stein's era began with Goethe. He raised Berlin's Schaubühne to prominence in European theatre during the 15 years he worked there.

Now, having left the theatre, he has been awarded Frankfurt's Goethe Prize, a kind of national award. Previous recipients include Hermann Hesse, Thomas Mann, Walter Gropius, Georg Lukàcs and Ernst Jünger.

The citation for the award speaks of "twenty years of continuity," and this was right, although perhaps in a way different to what the jury intended.

Looking back to troubled 1968 there was nothing to read about success. The 1968 generation, the generation of student unrest, was used more to disappointments than to victories.

But this generation did attempt to develop artistic productivity from new working methods, understanding theatre as an analytical instrument in the presentation of social processes, in short the Schaubühne and Peter Stein.

From the moment they started at the new West Berlin theatre their programme was pre-determined and targeted. It included Brecht's adaptation of Maxim Gorky's revolutionary drama *Mother* with Therese Giehse in the main role.

This programme also included, for instance, studying Karl Marx, a collective system of fees and lengthy, textual rehearsals. The list of plays to be produced and decisions affecting personnel were made jointly.

Many people in Berlin, bedevilled by demonstrations, were angry that the "red theatre" was subsidised by the Senate.

The High Priest of drama criticism in Berlin, Friedrich Luft, took "the excellent young people" under his wing.

Therese Giehse made a perceptive comment about the 40-year-old Stein.

She said that he did not need "concocted effects, no superfluous attempts at topicality. He made a play clear. He analysed it, but he did not change it. He is not a slick reproducer of a text."

The Schaubühne method functioned because the programme included for everyone concerned, not revolution but theatre. This was so because artistic director Stein managed the theatre and consistently listened to views not his own (co-director Claus Peymann again departed after working 18 months in the theatre.)

Klaus Michael Grüber and Luc Bondy, who did not see eye to eye with Stein, worked with him.

It functioned also because for a fortunte period the best acting ensemble was brought together and worked enthusiastically together at the Schaubühne.

Bruno Ganz, Jutta Lampe, Otto Sander, Edith Clever, Michael König, Tina Engel, Peter Fitz, Libgart Schwarz, later Udo Samel, Corinna Kirchhoff where all associated with Stein's theatre.

Then there were his guest stars: from Peter Lühr as the unforgettable Elector in Stein's *Kleists Traum vom Prinzen Homburg* (1972) to Johanna Hofer as Anfissa in Chekhov's *Three Sisters* (1984).

In 1972 Stein said that directing a play meant for him "bringing out the quintessence of the historical facts."

Fifteen years later he said: "My position is that I follow the author's intentions as closely as possible."

There is nothing to dispute here. From the beginning his direction has held true to three factors; the acting script, the play's genesis and author, forming a unity. His production of Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* in 1971 was the epic Odyssey of a failing bourgeois conquest of the world. His production of Gorky's *Sommergäste* in 1974 showed a persistance and anger at a society standing before inevitable radical change. Botho Strauss, who ceased being a theatre critic to take on the job as literary manager at the Schaubühne, was behind Stein's production of Ibsen and Gorky. Stein directed Strauss's *Trilogie des Wiedersehens* in 1978. This play moved from self-analysis to historical analysis.



No obituary yet. Peter Stein at rehearsal.

(Photo: Ruth Walz)

In garrulous idleness visitors to an art society's opening day collect together on stage. They represent an accurate psychological image of arty-crafty citizens of the Federal Republic of the mid-1970s.

Stein's theatre is still more panorama than drama, bringing together people and situations, images of the times, which point beyond their origins to experiences of the here and now.

There is no accent on the individual, no single hero. The revolutionary Stein held conservatively to literature. For him the classics were not vehicles for dramatic escapades.

He paid attention to form and design, was true to content and developed the play's message. At the same time he had the courage to be dramatically adventurous and explored new territory for the stage.

He became ever bolder in utilising the confined acting space in the narrow Schaubühne stage.

Stein and his set-designer Karl-Ernst Herrmann produced Shakespeare's *As You Like it* in 1977 in the CCC film studios and the following year Strauss's *Gross und Klein*.

When the Schaubühne moved to its new quarters in Berlin's Lehniner Platz in 1981, the old Ufa cinema, designed by Erich Mendelsohn and renovated at a cost of DM80 million, the pressures of space no longer applied.

The stage or stages and the auditorium could be arranged according to the individual play, "total theatre" in fact.

The new home for the theatre opened with Stein's marathon production of *The Oresteia* by Aeschylus. This new theatre was less and less a source of potential friction for Stein. He seemed to have achieved everything that he wanted.

But the insubstantial character of the dramatic art, the individual development of many comrades-in-arms, the excessive demands from the outside on every new production had changed the Schaubühne.

Stein's masterly presentation of Russia at the turn of the century in Chekhov's *Three Sisters* was the apotheosis of an ensemble that had nothing to equal it in post-war German theatre.

Even Brecht's East Berlin Ensemble only had seven fat years. Stein's Schaubühne lasted twice as long.

In an interview on television with pupils from a Berlin gymnasium Stein succinctly said about his withdrawal from theatre management: "I've reached the bottom."

There had been slating reviews of the Chekhov production, not because something was lacking but because it was too perfect, too beautiful, too supremely good. His search for perfection was unpardonable in a threatical landscape of mediocrity.

He has given himself a breathing space. He said that he wanted to clear his head and "restore myself without having to give, give, give, getting nothing in return."

He was asked if he planned to direct elsewhere. "Good lord, where should I go? Everywhere is in a mess." The Schaubühne is not so much in a mess as other theatres. He has returned to it after long intervals.

The last time was in 1987 with Racine's *Phaedra*, a classical tragedy about a queen's disastrous love, strong theatre in the grand manner.

He should not have to be a guest star in his own theatre, producer in Cariff or Brussels, making short visits to West Berlin, teaching and taking his leisure in his new home Rome.

The Goethe Prize-winner for 1988 does not deserve an obituary. Retiring at 51?

The ancient ghosts of the dead do not need to hop from foot to foot impatiently. Peter Stein is working on Goethe's *Faust*. Before that a production of Chekhov's *The Cherry Orchard* at the Schaubühne.

Otto Riewoldt

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 26 August 1988)

Continued from page 8

ing against women and that they were not typical of advertising as a whole.

Family Affairs Minister Rita Süssmuth still had some criticism of advertising nevertheless and this criticism hit the headlines. She was referring to "sophisticated discrimination against women in advertising," which was more rarely complained about to the Advertising Council.

Dieter Weirich is in the same political party as Minister Süssmuth. He said: "Demands for the prohibition of particular advertising forms are aimed basically at the freedom of the press and information, for advertising is protected under the constitution.

"The state is not charged with being an arbiter of taste. Let us argue about this or that advertisement but let us for heaven's sake put a stop to calls for new controlling bodies and legislation."

Lutz Kleche

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 19 August 1988)

■ PHILOSOPHY

They're changing the guard at Wuhan

The first congress on German philosophy in China, held at Hubei University in Wuhan, dealt less with Marx and Engels than with Kant, Fichte, Husserl and Heidegger.

The Chinese Journal of German Philosophy has clearly indicated in recent years the shift in emphasis that was so evident in Wuhan of all places.

Twenty years ago the Red Guards began their march on higher education in Wuhan, population five million. This year's congress, held at the provincial university, testified to the realignment of interest in its choice of overseas participants.

J. D. Sallis, editor of the US edition of Heidegger's writings, was invited to represent the United States.

Professor Hans-Georg Gadamer was invited to represent the Federal Republic of Germany (but was unable, for health reasons, to attend).

Heidegger, described by *Le Monde* as the greatest philosopher of the 20th century, is studied hesitantly in Germany on grounds of political circumspection.

Like many German academics, he was embarrassingly pro-Nazi in 1933. Yet not a single anti-Semitic remark is to be found in his entire oeuvre.

American philosophers have championed him as a way out of the straitjacket of analytical philosophy, and they are more than welcome as intermediaries in China today.

Asked whether the Germans were 15 years behind the Americans, Sallis said: "At least." Are we now trailing the Chinese too?

The 20-volume collected works of Heidegger are not only to be translated by Chinese philosophers but also to be subjected to detailed analysis.

The reasons why Chinese philosophers are interested in German philosophy are self-evident. Marx was a German. But why are they now interested in others?

A speaker from Peking compared the present situation in China with the moment when Kant awoke from dogmatic slumber: "We are confronted with an enigma.

Closer analysis revealed that: "In China today we are going through a period in which the introduction of Western technology holds pride of place.

"So we must learn a little about the history of Western ideas and closely reconsider our own cultural development."

These words, spoken by the congress chairman, were not just meant to flatter the provincial governor who, more interested in economic than in philosophical development, had financed the proceedings.

In China close thought is given to the cultural and ethical repercussions of technology, and the Chinese are keen to evaluate the experience the Western world has gained in recent centuries.

At almost the same time as Newton laid the foundations of objective natural science Descartes perfected his subjective method.

Science and the arts then went their separate ways, which led to the phenomenon that has aptly been termed "the two cultures."

Heidegger alone saw both originating from a common root as complementary aspects of a rationalistic subject-object arrangement.

Far from criticising the industrial use of thought, he wanted to reveal this fundamental technological outlook in the arts and theology (from God as the creator of the world to Man as the producer of the idea of God).

He might well play a leading role as an intermediary between adaptation and rejection, between modernistic and national conservative currents of thought in China today.

Heidegger has been studied in China for some time. Wei Hsiung, who teaches in Peking, was Heidegger's assistant from 1933 to 1936.

In Germany he might well, without closer scrutiny, be looked at askance for this period in his life; in China he is held in extremely high repute.

He supervised the translation of Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit* (Being and Time) into Chinese. Wei Hsiung has worked out correlations between Chinese philosophy and Heidegger's approach.

The resolution evident in Heidegger's approach to death can, he says, be "compared with the spiritual strength of Chinese philosophy, which favours peacefully and composedly facing death like walking home."

This resolution may, in Wei Hsiung's case, partly relate to the political resolution of the Marxism of his day — and he is now an old man.

For the younger generation a Heidegger-enriched Marxism can no longer be the home that ensures composure in the face of the death by virtue of mere commitment.

"Wherever you look," younger Chinese philosophers say, "above or below. Man has two homes. Yet maybe the fact that we have two homes is the reason why we can go back to neither of them."

This might be taken to refer to the homelessness of an approach rent asunder by the vicissitudes of recent history. But the opposite is the case.

The younger generation, feeling hemmed in from above and below, stands where Chinese thought has always been at home: in the middle.

The interpretation of Man as a being midway between heaven and earth is es-



sential to Chinese tradition, and the younger generation enthusiastically accepts it.

In Heidegger, who took over from Emil Ludwig a "heaven and earth" mythology, they find an ally who enables them both to deal with Lao Tse and to open up relations with the West.

Heaven and earth and Man's intermediate position are not only the keynote of Lao Tse's teachings. They are also the calligraphical symbol of China, a country that sees itself as the Middle Kingdom.

It remains to be seen how far they will follow Heidegger in adding to the interplay of heaven, earth and the mortal (or Man) the divine (or the Gods).

The Chinese would in no way dismiss this fourfold arrangement as irrational.

Besides, they see the irrational as an essential feature of rationality, as opposed to anti-rationality.

In Germany, the "land of poets and thinkers," Heidegger is often rejected as irrational on account of his proximity to poetry.

In China poetry is seen as a return to the essence of Mankind:

"Poetry is not only a window open to

Continued on page 13

Popper on inclinations — or how the dice are loaded

This article was written by a German philosophy professor, Albert Menne, for the national daily, *Die Welt*.

German representation at the 18th World Congress of Philosophy in Brighton, Sussex, left much to be desired.

Yet the debate was strongly influenced by German thinkers, from Frege and Husserl to Wittgenstein, culminating in the congress speech by Sir Karl Popper.

The most frequently quoted thinkers at the congress, Gottlob Frege and Ludwig Wittgenstein, were both German (or Austrian, in Wittgenstein's case).

And the most extensively discussed philosophical school, dealt with by several sections and at a colloquy, was Edmund Husserl's phenomenology.

Relatively few philosophers from the Federal Republic of Germany were present, however: a number of younger people and a mere five established philosophy dons.

They were:

- Heinrich Beck from Bamberg, who took part in the round table debate on philosophy in East and West;
- Jürgen Habermas from Frankfurt, who chaired a congress session;
- Wolfgang Kluxen from Bonn, who headed a section dealing with philosophy in the Ancient World;
- Klaus Öhler from Hamburg, a speaker and charman of the meeting of the Charles Peirce Society;
- I, Albert Menne, was the fifth German speaker, my paper forming part of the logic section.

The climax of the congress was the speech by Sir Karl Popper, surely the most famous living philosopher, on "A World of Inclinations: Two New Views of Causality."

The well-known US philosopher Richard Hare, who specialises in ethics, noted in his introductory remarks that Popper hardly needed presenting.

If a book were to be written in a century's time about our own day and age, a few of those present at the congress might merit a mention in footnotes, but Sir Karl would be mentioned as a philosopher whose teaching still held good.

Popper himself began by recalling the 1934 World Congress of Philosophy, held in Prague, which had not particularly impressed him.

But an extra discussion group had been held on a small scale that Otto Neurath had invited him to attend.

At this gathering he had met the Lindenbaums, a Polish couple who were later murdered by the Nazis, and Alfred Tarski, who later joined him in Vienna and was a lifelong friend.

These three had familiarised him with the Aristotelian concept of truth to which he remained unshakably committed. There was an absolute truth of statements irrespective of linguistic formulas.

He had not been able to discuss probability with Reichenbach, but he had agreed with Rudolf Carnap that probability must not be theoretically based on the way in which it was confirmed.

His greatest disappointment, he told the Brighton congress, was that Carnap had abandoned this common ground 15 years later.

He then made a number of remarks on the concept of probability based on the ratio of existing to possible instances.

There was, for instance, a two-sixths probability of casting an even number lower than six at dice, there being six possibilities and only two of them, two and four, meeting the requirement.

He mentioned Heisenberg's uncertainty principle, formulated in 1927, according to which it is impossible to determine simultaneously, with any certainty, the position and momentum of a particle.

The more certain the investigator is about one, the less certain he can be about the other, and not, Sir Karl said, because of our lack of knowledge but on account of the objective nature of matter.

Physically, determinism was no longer tenable; the future was in principle open.

He now referred to existing possibilities as "inclinations." They were, he said, like forces, which in turn could be explained in terms of inclinations.

An inclination with a probability of one existed, while an inclination with a probability of zero meant that this inclination did not exist.

Inclinations were something real. They were the property of a situation, not of an object. The inclination of an individual to live for a further 20 years

DIE WELT

was, for instance, a property not of the individual but of the situation arising from his state of health, the state of medicine, food, climate and so on.

The concept of circumstances being solely determined by a causality deriving from past events must be qualified.

Sir Karl said that in his opinion science was second only to music as the pinnacle of human achievement. It was fallible and must constantly rectify its findings, but it came closer to truth in this way.

Pyotr Fedosseyev, vice-president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, made wide-ranging, general comments on the historical contribution biology has made toward the picture of man. His speech was entitled "Man as an Object of Philosophy."

Remarkably, and in contrast to earlier congresses, he steered clear of Marxist polemics of any kind.

He concluded with the well-known quotation from Kant: "Two things constantly fill me with deepest humility: the star-studded sky above me and the moral dictates within me."

He then, on behalf of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, invited all philosophers to visit the Soviet Union to discuss freely and frankly on all problems.

Another speaker was the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur, a pupil of the Christian existentialist Gabriel Marcel who combines the phenomenological and hermeneutical methods with modern analytical philosophy.

He told the congress that in language man appeared in the first and second persons, but that man was also an active being and bore responsibility toward others.

In the plenary session on "Man: Nature, Spirit, Community" the chairman, Donald Davidson from Berkeley, Cal., first poked fun at a topic that was so

Continued on page 12

■ BEHAVIOUR

Study suggests that genetic factors predominate in forming personality

The view that personality is moulded by family, class and education has long been under challenge.

Studies show that human qualities are based to a large extent on genetic factors and that environmental factors have unexpectedly subtle influences in an individual manner.

The entire edifice of conventional thought on the subject is brought down by Professor Jens Asendorpf of the Munich-based Max Planck Institute for Psychological Research in his book, *Keiner wie der andere*, published by Piper Verlag, Munich.

He says certain rough external conditions show themselves in the character-forming process of a small child such as membership of a social stratum, education, position in the family among brothers and sisters or neglect.

But he says it is not widely known that empirical tests have shown the limitations of these factors as a character former.

If, for example, a style of education did wield a great influence, a child adopted as a baby into a family with a natural child the same age would end up with similar mental characteristics as the natural child. But it doesn't work out that way. They are not more alike in the slightest way.

Ruled out

No support was found, either, for the view that a person's personality was moulded by the position that person held as a child among brothers and sisters, for example the first-born.

Accurate statistical analysis emphasises that any kind of person could grow up from any position in the order of brothers and sisters.

Finally Professor Asendorpf has knocked on the head the idea, dear to followers of the Freudian school of thought, that traumatic experiences in early childhood set a child irreversibly on a definite path of mental development.

The Professor cites traumatic experiences such as deprivation of a mother's love, or the lack of a person close to the child to whom the child can relate.

Only two examples, of the many that have become well-known in the meantime, disputing the Freudian position, are to be mentioned here from Professor Asendorpf's book.

People with a psychic illness, depression for example, have not experienced the loss of one or the other parent in early childhood any more often than mentally healthy people.

Furthermore, being brought up in a children's home in the child's early years, often associated with changing and superficial care and attention, is rarely the sole cause of adverse psychic developments.

Professor Asendorpf said that the fact must be taken into consideration that the effect of an environmental factor stands or falls depending on the genotype, that is the total of inherited factors of the person concerned.

He said that various genotypes react differently to the same environmental influences.

Only in the last few years has behavi-

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

oural genetics, aided by studies of twins, adopted children and families, unearthed findings, some surprising, about the manner and extent of inherited influences.

Only by using these methods can scientists substantiate the influence of geneic and environmental factors on personality characteristics.

Identical twins, for example, brought up together, have exactly the same genetic make-up and a correspondingly similar family life.

Netherthelesss personality differences refer conclusively back to environment factors, that do not have an influence on each of the twins.

Adopted siblings, on the other hand, only share the same family environment, without sharing a genetic factor.

Possible similarities stem therefore from corresponding family conditions.

On the basis of these techniques only a few research teams have calculated how extensive the influence of genetic codes is on the shaping of social-emotional personality characteristics — for instance domination, aggression, shyness and introspection.

In Professor Asendorpf's view the hereditary part of the personality, depending on the type and dimension of it, amounts to between 40 and 50 per cent.

A research team, working with the American psychologists Thomas Bouchard and David Lykken, have come up with some amazing results after an extensive study of identical and non-idential twins, brought up togther and separately.

Their results have been published in the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*.

They too found that only 50 per cent of social-emotional personality differences originated from genetic make-up.

But as differences of between 15 to 30 per cent originated from the unreliability of the tests employed, there remains between 20 and 35 per cent due to environment influences.

Asendorpf writes: "It seems justifiable to assume that personality differences are influenced more forcefully through genetic variety than the variety of environment factors."

According to Professor Asendorpf another result from behavioural genetics is of greater weight. The "shared environment," conditions such as parental educational levels, the manner of education and income, which are the same for all children of a family (identical twins, for example) exercise a negligible influence on personality characteristics.

This overturns all the basic assumptions of the social and educational sciences. It seems that extremely individual environmental influences, specifically affecting a person, which do not apply to other family members, contribute to moulding social-emotional characteristics.

At present there are practically no scientific theories and research results available about these subtle influence factors. It is possible to imagine, however, that experiences with friends and acquaintances come under this.

Perhaps this also includes personal experiences and knowledge of life such as illness, watching television or being together with a teacher in school.

The insignificance of "shared" environment leads sometimes to unbelievable consequences.

Various studies show that identical twins who grow up separately, are more similar in certain personality characteristics, such as the similarity of the degree of introversion for example, than twins who grow up together.

It is possible that twins who grow up together are under pressure to develop an individual identity. Twins who grow up separately are spared this pressure for obvious reasons.

In any case, according to Asendorpf, we have not even basically investigated the complex inter-relationship between disposition and the environment.

Rolf Degen

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 20 August 1988)

Warning that aptitude testing is falling into disrepute

Widespread public opposition is developing to some methods of selecting job applicants.

One of the main reasons for the objections is high unemployment. The issue is principally to do with psychological and aptitude tests.

The question of aptitude testing was the main point for discussion at the 30th conference of the employment and industrial psychology section of the German Psychologists Association, in Cologne.

In a public hearing, specialists said that no alternatives were conceivable to present psychological investigation methods, provided that they were based closely on the rules of scientific testing theories.

Aptitude testing should not be reduced to applicant selection and test monitoring.

Psychological careers guidance and personnel selection are applied not only for better performance but also for allocating a worker a job that interests and is within his or her competence.

These tests prevent a person becoming either over- or under-employed. For many people it was a matter of health, job satisfaction and personality development.

Dr Klaus Althoff, senior psychologist at the German Association for Personnel Affairs, said that by not using psychological testing, decisions affecting personnel would become subjective, open to manipulation and obscure.

The meaningfulness of psychological

Frankfurter Allgemeine

aptitude testing was demonstrably higher than any other method, such as references and interviews for a job.

He said that his institute had a success rate of between 70 and 80 per cent. A perfect forecast of human behaviour was neither possible nor desirable.

Stuttgart psychologist Professor Heinz Schuler from the University of Hohenheim gave assurances that psychological aptitude tests were so devised that no group of people were put at a disadvantage compared with another group.

He said that they were the best method suitable for personnel selection. They excluded improper selection criteria, personal bias and superstition.

The characteristic requirements for an occupation to which the test applies. should be defined more clearly in future, so that the procedure is organised as acceptably as possible to those concerned.

Professor Schuler said that aptitude tests should be entrusted to qualified psychologists. He said that it was shocking that in practice only 10 per cent of the tests were carried out under the supervision of qualified personnel.

He maintained that a difficult tool such as aptitude testing must be protected from use by unskilled people and the results being made public, and should the situation arise, protection given against the introduction of a kind of psychological "prescription requirement" for testing.

Only in this way can justifiable criticism be met and harm to a whole professional body be averted.

It is probable that people without psychological qualifications have asked questions that are an invasion of privacy, protected by Basic Law, going beyond the purposes of the test. This has contributed to bringing aptitude testing into public disrepute.

Only in rare cases is the production of a detailed psychological analysis justifiable.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 20 August 1988)

Karl Popper

Continued from page 11

loosely formulated that virtually anything could be discussed.

Yet the two speakers each dealt with a specific aspect.

Michael Dummet, the Oxford logician, used the methods of analytical philosophy to outline Frege's theory of sense, meaning and ideas.

Gilles Granger of the Collège de France, Paris, was unable to attend in person because of an accident.

In his paper, which was read in his absence, he investigated the scope of science and the significance of scientific and pre-scientific knowledge.

The chairman then sought to explain the precondition for the possibility of thought.

As speech could only be learnt when teacher and pupil shared similar associations between word and object, he felt the possibility of communication was the precondition for thought.

Yet that is not convincing inasmuch as it would make the "lone thinker" impossible.

Albert Menne

(Die Welt, Bonn, 27 August 1988)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Solar-car-building doctor aims to beat bureaucrats

Klaus Eikemeier, a Hanover doctor, wants solar energy more widely used as a source of power for motor vehicles on environmental grounds.

He says that the plants in his surgery are black instead of green and that more and more of his patients have lung and liver troubles. A third are allergic.

Dr Eikemeier is not only a medical doctor: he holds and engineering degree and has worked as a flying instructor.

Now, he has designed and built his own solar-powered car. Yet road traffic regulations do not allow him to use cycle tracks and the Hanover licensing authority has refused to issue the solarmobile with a certificate of roadworthiness.

He plans not to take no for an answer when he applies for a licence to run his next model, a pollution-free lightweight aluminium two-seater.

He designed his first solar-powered vehicle during a holiday on the North Sea island of Langeoog three years ago.

He has frequently put it through its paces on paths in the nature reserve behind his home. "Even people on horseback stopped and stared; we were soon chatting about environmental matters," Dr Eikemeyer says.

He soon convinced them that there was enough sunshine and daylight even in cloudy, overcast north Germany to keep a solar-powered car on the move in traffic.

He used the chassis of a Sinclair, the battery-powered brainchild of Cambridge computer manufacturer Sir Clive Sinclair; the Sinclair project was a commercial failure and the stock was remaindered.

The rest is all his own work. He called his solar car Hoedus, after a small planet.

It is an open single-seater with 1.2 square metres of solar cells for a roof. After being charged for two hours they store enough energy to power the vehicle's plastic wheels for an hour.

The Hoedus can do 30kph (20mph) on a level surface and reaches 45kph (nearly 30mph) in brilliant sunshine.

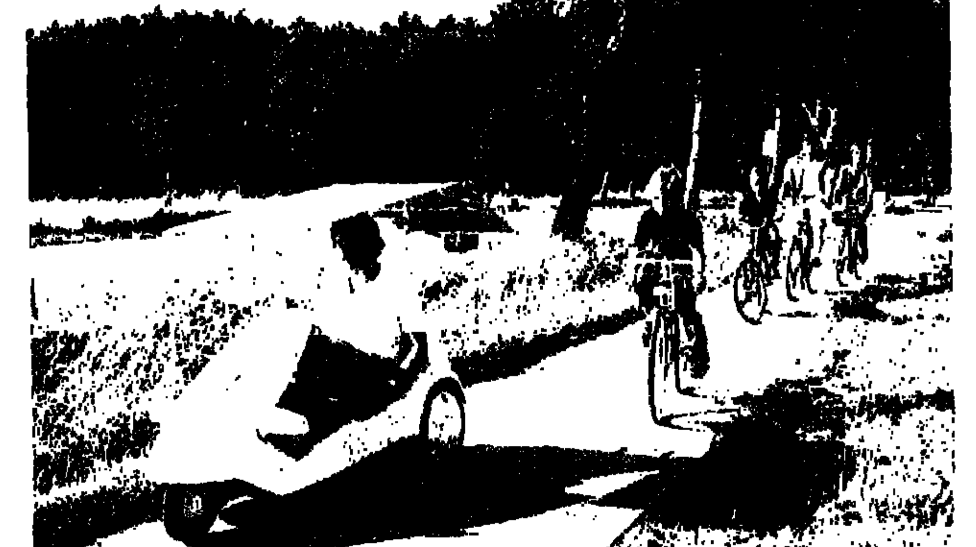
The vehicle weighs 42kg (92lb) and is powered by a 250-watt motor, the equivalent, he admits, of four 60-watt light bulbs.

For the first few yards he pedals to ease the burden on the motor, which also powers a brake light and a horn; the Hoedus comes complete with wing mirrors, electronic controls and a rev counter.

It is steered by a motorcycle-style handlebar across which the inventor stretches his legs in the pint-sized cockpit.

There is even room for a luggage compartment at the back, large enough to accommodate his Gladstone bag beneath the solar panel roof.

"I would love to use it to visit patients and show them that environmental protection need not amount to mere talk," he says.



Who wants a Porsche when there's a Hoedus? . . . Eikemeier and solar-powered car. (Photo: Viola Hauschild)

Asked why he is so keen on the idea, he refers to his practice in Bothfeld, an industrial suburb of Hanover.

"An increasing number of my patients have lung and liver trouble. One is three is allergic.

"The plants in my surgery, on a busy main road, are black not green. Environmental pollution is to blame.

"We can't afford to go like this much longer. Something must be done."

Before studying medicine he graduated in engineering and worked as a flying instructor.

After writing a thesis about problems of equilibrium he met Ulf Merbold, the first German astronaut. "We gave lectures at the same time, to audiences including Nasa, and he persuaded me to attend a course for astronauts in Hamburg."

Dr Eikemeier decided not to wait for the next German space mission. He felt solar power was a likelier prospect.

His local licensing authority was interested but refused to license the Hoedus as a motor vehicle. "They have their regulations," he says, "and assess my 42-kg car on the same basis as a vehicle weighing two tonnes."

He was, for instance, expected to design a 2,000-kilopond safety belt. He is no longer determined to see his single-seater licensed but he has not, by any stretch of the imagination, yet given up.

He and fellow-enthusiast, Michael Qualmann, are working on a second model, a covered two-seater that will weigh 80kg (176lb) and have a more powerful motor.

He told the licensing authority well in advance to ensure there will be no problems when the prototype is ready in a few months.

He says: "We are not thinking in terms of series manufacture but of a prototype that has cost, say, DM10,000 must be licensed.

"We are going to fight for a licence, risking trouble with the licensing authority if that's the way it has to be."

He and fellow-engineer Qualmann are keen to enlist the support of other solar power enthusiasts with specialised knowledge.

"An engineer specialising in motor vehicle mechanics and an engineer specialising in welding techniques would be most welcome," he says.

When he isn't working at the drawing-board or in the workshop he is working on a book about the origin of man.

But that is another aspect in the life of a doctor, an engineer and a man who almost applied to qualify as an astronaut.

Wolfgang Steinweg

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 20 August 1988)

China meeting

Continued from page 11

existence, it is also open from one human being to another. It is not just the essential nature of language but also of the human species." What is utopian is, in contrast, the idea of a "narrative poetry."

This expression may be taken as the keyword of the latest generation of philosophers. What it means can look back on a longstanding tradition in a country where civil servants are tested not just for their knowledge of legal niceties but also for their prowess at calligraphy, painting and poetry. It is a country where an "unpolitical" outlook is seen as a fundamental prerequisite for political balance, which can far too readily be upset by discussion and criticism.

The Chinese, who are not just polite but truly restrained in their remarks, appreciate Heidegger's comment that truth is unfolded not only in argument and judgement but in Man's relationship with the world as such.

Truth is an event that cannot be grasped epistemologically. Long before Gödel, Heidegger noted the essentially circular character of thought, a character from which no theory of knowledge can save us and which we must accept for what it is.

That need not be a disappointment, since truth as Heidegger sees it need not mean arriving at a final judgement. It is a vantage point, like someone who stands in God's truth.

Truth, thought as not just a logical judgement, is naturally more pertinent to Chinese thought, which has little understanding for the Western approach.

The oneness of theory and practice as enunciated in Heidegger's theory of truth was readily accepted at the Wuhan congress, which in Heidegger's meaning of the term was itself an event (of truth).

Heidegger's phenomenology, seen as a path to be followed and not just described, is congenial to the Chinese, who have traditionally held the tao, or true path, in high respect.

Jin Xiping, a young philosopher from Peking who endorsed Heidegger's uniform view of theory and practice, added a special note to the idea of the path.

"A few days before his death," he said, "Martin Heidegger noted down the following motto for the final edition of his collected works: ways — not works."

"This motto applies not only to Heidegger's phenomenology but to the entire phenomenological movement. All roads may lead to Rome, but phenomenologists are certainly 'on the road.'"

Detlef Bernhard Linke

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 26 August 1988)

■ ADDICTION TO ONE-ARMED BANDITS

Bright lights, whirring wheels and lots of money — lost

About 420,000 one-armed bandits click and roll in German amusement arcades. Five million people play them for an hour a week and 80,000 spend more than five hours in front of them.

The statistics, compiled by the Munich-based Institute for Therapy Research, reveal that an estimated 25,000 are obsessive players.

The players are losers to the tune of 1.5 billion marks a year. The profits are soaked up by the operators of the machines and the state. The *Länder* last year hauled in 4.1 billion in tax (some of this includes the take from other games of chance as well). The Hamburg figure was 81 million marks.

The scene behind the Hamburg *Hauptbahnhof* in the old St Georg area is down-at-heel. Bars, street girls, bright neon signs.

Many of the lights belong to gambling halls. They promise the chance of a win. Nothing is said about the almost certain probability of loss.

Those who bend to the lure are poor. But they are more than that. Most are society's losers. The one-armed bandits hold out hopes for something brighter in life. A win amid the glitter.

In the 1970s, as unemployment became more widespread and there was an increase in the amount of time people had for leisure pursuits, there was a rapid increase in the number of fruit machines in operation and the number of people who played them.

One of them is 28-year-old Fritz Gärtner (name changed). He had been trained as a waiter. He had difficulties in his relations with his family. Privately and in his job he could not see much of a future for himself.

His best friend was the one-armed bandit (fruit machine) in a gambling hall.

"When I was under stress, when I had problems at work and privately, when I was sick to death with everything and I had no way of compensating for this, I went and played the machines. In half an hour I had put myself right. I felt bloody good, although I had lost 50 marks.

"Sometimes I played two or three machines at the same time, and when you got something out of one you had the feeling you were a winner, which you were not in society.

"In this way you slipped gradually deeper into playing. When I felt bad I played. Then I felt better.

"But then I felt bad again, because I had lost. Nevertheless I went on playing so as to feel better. It was a spiral effect, downwards," he said.

When Fritz Gärtner was broke he went moonlighting and borrowed money. "I was unbelievably resourceful. I borrowed from Peter to pay Paul," he said.

Eventually he fell into the hands of the credit sharks.

When Gärtner had debts from playing alone running into DM15,000, he discovered a pile of red cards in a St Georg gambling hall. He pocketed one.

"Today this card is my holy relic," he said. The red card was his entrance ticket to a new life without fruit machines. "I'm cured of that and I've paid off my debts," he said.

It introduced him to Professor Iver Hand and his assistants. They cured Fritz. Professor Hand is head of the out-patients behavioural therapy department in the psychiatric clinic of Hamburg University's Eppendorf Hospital.

This is the most experienced hospitals department for treating fruit machine gamblers in the Federal Republic. It is also the only clinic that offers solely short-term treatment as out-patients to players. It was established in 1977.

Professor Hand says the only during the past three years have similar treatment centres been opened in Göttingen and Frankfurt.

When Gärtner turned up for his first chat at the out-patient department of the behaviour therapy clinic he believed he was "a gambling addict."

It became clear to him after ten hours of therapy over a six-month period that he had not deteriorated into a pathological addiction, but that his passion for playing fruit machines was a flight from, and an expression of, the anxiety he felt about his personal problems. It was his way of coping with this anxiety.

Today he claims that he has got rid of his problem. Not that he suddenly stopped playing. That was not demanded of him.

In the course of talks and therapeutic training he was able to take positive action himself about his problems. Of his own accord he gradually stopped going to the amusement arcades.

He has now got over his shyness at meeting people. He has been able to get involved in a new circle of friends and he again has a girl-friend.

Gärtner's case is typical of the patients who consult Professor Hand's clinic. He is an example for the professor and his team that playing machines is not an addiction in the medical sense of that word, as is maintained by an influential addiction lobby.

This lobby is battling to have fruit machine playing to excess recognised as an addiction by the old-age pension insurance schemes and health insurance companies so that more cash for plans for providing in-patient treatment for fruit machine players is available.

Süddeutsche Zeitung

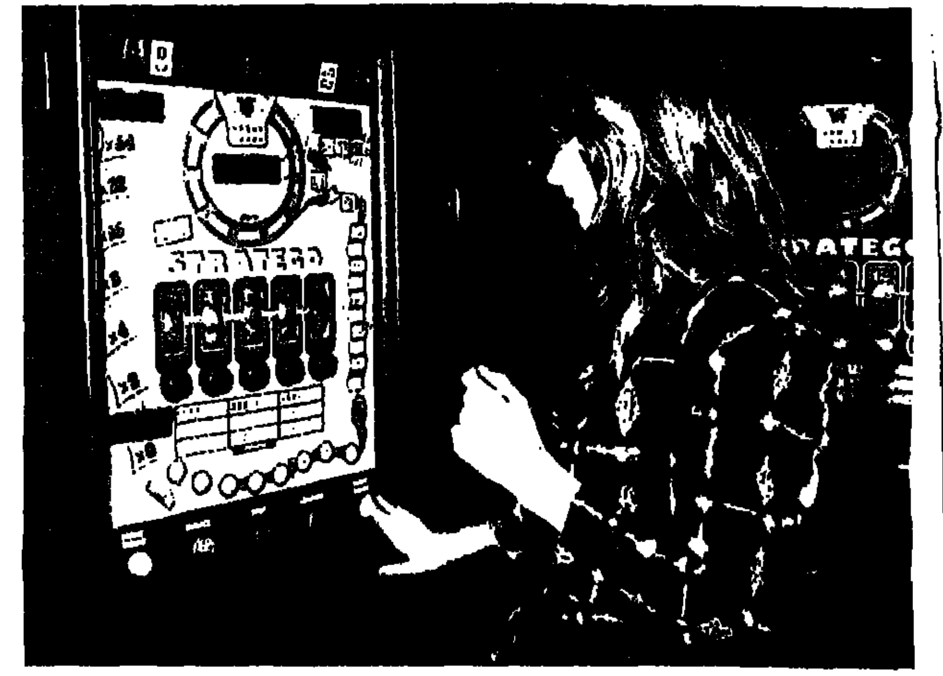
"There is no question that playing fruit machines can, in individual cases, become a problem and can assume the dimensions of an illness," said Professor Hand in an interview with *Kommunalpolitischen Blätter*.

But he was against the use of the general use of the expression "addiction" for every kind of human behaviour, pursued to excess.

He said that equating a dependence that was unrelated to drugs with a dependence that was drug-related "made the expression addiction diagnostically valueless and the consequences as regards addiction regulations dangerous from a therapeutic as well as a legal point of view."

Professor Hand said that there was fundamentally a considerable difference between a pathological player and an alcohol or drug addict.

He said that basically dependence on drugs affected the body, particularly the brain, impairing markedly intellectual and emotional reactions and a person's intellectual abilities and emotional life.



Gambler and her best friend.

(Photo: dpa)

There was no question of a pathological fruit machine player suffering physical changes, and intellectual-emotional changes are of a purely psychological nature. They can be normalised by psychotherapy.

"For this reason we do not talk about an addiction but of behaviour symtoms of a neurotic or depressive nature."

Professor Hand referred to the fact that Alcoholics Anonymous and people involved in drug-addiction therapy claimed that an important feature of an addiction is that it has a lifelong duration and is incurable. It can only be suppressed by total abstinence.

Professor Hand and his team regard abstinence only to be advisable in such cases when excessive playing of fruit machines leads to "social-economic suicide."

According to Professor Hand 95 per cent of the patients helped in his clinic do not come up to these criteria.

Bremen psychologist Gerhard Meyer is one of the most vehement advocates of the addiction theory. He underpins his theory with the fact that excessive players show the same symptoms as alcoholics.

They have, for example, an inability to abstain, a powerful urge to play more and more, they constantly look for cash to play with and they have withdrawal symptoms as well as inner restlessness, outbreaks of perspiring and symptoms of anxiety.

Meyer has not treated a fruit machine player himself, but has investigated self-help groups.

He works in close cooperation with the head of the Ochsenzoll district hospital in Hamburg, Bert Kellermann."

Kellermann treats fruit machine players in an in-patient therapy programme based on the addiction theory in groups including alcoholics. This in-patient treatment lasts 11 weeks on average.

He also believes that excessive fruit machine playing is an addiction and so "an illness for a life-time."

The representatives of the addiction theory and the Caritas Society, the Catholic charitable organisastion, are straining every nerve to stamp fruit machine playing with the addiction label, but there has been no empirical investigation of the problem so far. Such an investigation could give some scientific basis to this theory.

Kellermann said that his normal clinical work took up all his time and that of his assistants, so he has not been able to conduct any post-examinations on the success of the treatment of fruit machine players.

According to Professor Hand the opportunity presents itself in Hamburg, where both approaches to the problem are being applied, to conduct comparative research of the two treatment methods.

Professor Hand and his team of behavioural experts in Hamburg have applied empirical controls to their treatment, which provide evidence of the rightness of the short-term treatment method of out-patient players and the successes they have achieved.

According to Professor Hand a study of 130 former player patients over a period from one to five years shows a success quota of 60 per cent.

About a half of them eventually refrained from playing altogther, the other half so reduced their playing habit "that it was no longer a problem in their work or private lives."

Professor Hand said: "There has so far only been one study in Scotland of the long-term effects of self-help groups showing an abstinence quota of seven per cent." He was speaking at a recent public hearing by the economic affairs committee of the Bundestag.

Although the Hamburg out-patient therapy method has been successful over a period of many years, its future is uncertain.

Neither central government nor the Hamburg state government are prepared to make essential funds available to ensure the continuance of this establishment in the long-term.

It is said that there is no cash available, and this is said although the federal states last year pocketed DM4.1bn from the gamblers' passion for roulette, "lotto" and other games of chance, according to figures provided by the Federal Statistics Office, Wiesbaden.

Hamburg earned DM81 million last year alone from the city's gambling casinos.

After the Family Affairs Ministry in Bonn sent Professor Hand packing with his request for financial support with suspiciously inadequate and general reasons, the German Addiction Centre smugly advised him to go to the fruit-machine industry for funds. He did this otherwise his treatment clinic would have had to be closed down.

Wide areas of medical research are financed, or given financial support by the pharmaceuticals industry without there being any criticism of this.

But Professor Hand has come under

Continued on page 15

■ SOCIETY

No social impediments to living in sin, but no legal safeguards, either

The term *wilde Ehe* ("living in sin") is not used any more in tones of moral reproof. People live together without being married and few take any notice.

It is perhaps just as well, because it is a growing habit. Marriage is no longer regarded as a way of guaranteeing happiness and security; neither does it have any particular status in society.

It is estimated that between 1.5 and three million people live together without being married. An estimated 28 per cent decide for this form of living together as a long-term alternative to marriage. Most of them know that there are certain legal risks involved.

Young couples, the majority of unmarried couples, often live together as a sort of trial marriage. If a child is born or when income increases, they get married. The statistics don't say, of course, if such trial marriages lead to more durable legal marriages.

There are other grounds for avoiding or delaying marriage: perhaps a training allowance or orphan's allowance would be stopped.

Then there is the case of older people, perhaps in middle age, who have already been unsuccessfully married and want to avoid a relationship that might collapse and lead to financial disaster. Such people value their independence; sometimes they don't want to give up their name. The principle of marriage, the idea of entering into a life-long arrangement, does not appeal any more.

Older people who live together without being married can come off badly financially: the woman has diminished claim to the man's pension, for example, if he dies first.

Complications over pensions led after the war to a so-called *Onkelehe* (marriage with uncle) in which a war widow, not wishing to marry and lose her war-widow's pension, lived with a man. For purposes of social acceptance, the man was referred to as "uncle."

In the early years after the war, such an arrangement was regarded with great suspicion; later it became a topic of mild amusement. Today there is no prejudice. The man does not have to pretend to be "uncle" any more.

The German legal system, however, barely recognises any of the forms of living together outside marriage. In basic law, the German constitution, it is not even mentioned. The partners are treated as if they were individuals and have no tax advantages.

If there are children, they and the mother are considered to have formed a family. The father has no rights — only the obligation to keep mother and child.

Do unmarried partners need more legal protection? Both the main churches, Catholic and Protestant, say that there are no pressing reasons for a revision of the legislation. They do not want to see the difference between marriage and other forms of living together eliminated.

But the Bonn government nevertheless is working on changes. They will mean that an unmarried father of a child born out of wedlock, who is no longer living with the mother would be treated like a divorced father: he

Frankfurter Allgemeine

would gain access to the child if this would not damage the child's interests.

At the moment, a single father who is not married to and is separated from the mother can be prevented from seeing the child unless it can be shown that access is in the child's interests. (The difference may sound subtle, but the current arrangement means that, in effect, that access can be prevented simply by the mother refusing it.)

The subject of maintenance payments for unmarried women with children and for housewives without earnings is to be discussed at a meeting of lawyers this month.

But all the proposed changes are too little for the Parliamentary Opposition. The Greens are demanding a broadening of state protection for marriages and for permanent relationships of all types outside marriage — even, and here they differ with the SPD, for couples of the same sex.

The Social Democrats don't go that far. Two of their members of parliament, Renate Schmidt and Herta Däubler-Gmelin, told a meeting in Bonn that the party did not want arrangements outside marriage to be placed on the same level as marriage

But the rights of marriage and family anchored in the Basic law should not be taken to mean that other forms of living together should be discriminated against or punished. If two people did not want to get married, that must be accepted; and any child of the two must not be put at a disadvantage compared with a child of a married couple.

The child should be able to see its father if its parents separated. That meant there should be provision for both to have custody.

As long as cohabitation outside marriage runs satisfactorily, there are few legal difficulties. Sometimes, old regulations to do with, say social housing, are observed observed rather too literally by zealous officials and this causes problems.

One of the speakers at the meeting was an apparently well-paid woman aged about 40 who said she did not want the lawmakers to change anything.

She and her partner had kept their property strictly separate and a house which they had both acquired was secured by contract. The couple had a 11-year-old son.

The fact that she would be left worse off than a married woman if she and her partner separated, or if he died, was a price she was prepared to pay for her freedom.

After a broken marriage, she found it important to have "the constant challenges of a household not sealed by an institution."

But this is not the type of case that confronts domestic courts. Typical cases: the unmarried woman who had sacrificed all so that her partner could study to increase his qualifications and who now had been abandoned by him.

A woman who was seeking a share of works of art and household effects after her separation but who had no legal right to them.

An older woman left with nothing after her partner had died without including her in his will.

Only a fifth of unmarried couples make concrete provision for reducing the financial risks the future might bring. Only two per cent even bother going to a notary.

The rest just muck through, even when it is clear that the relationship is becoming unstable. And when it comes to a separation, the women are usually hit harder than the men.

It doesn't matter how needy she is, if the tenant of the house is the man and he doesn't want her living there, then he can throw her out.

Even when one partner draws up a will favouring the other, there is not often much left over: a non-related person has to pay pay death duties of 70 per cent.

The meeting in Bonn, comprising lawyers, social workers and a range of other specialists heard and discussed cases of unexpected consequences, appalling injustice, individual cases of absurdity.

One lawyer said: "In cases where things go wrong, it is easy to tear out the hair over the extent of naivete and thoughtless trust."

Whoever wants to live together without a wedding ring must take much greater care legally than married people. But is this a reason for changing the whole approach to such unions by bringing their regulation closer to that of a normal marriage? All lawyers at the meeting warned against that.

In some other European countries, some new controls had been introduced, with good results; some of the most common problems had been reduced.

For example in France, it took only the signature of the town mayor at the bottom of a certificate of concubinage to ensure that one partner was included in the medical insurance policy of the other or to enable, in the case of death, the surviving partner to take over the house they both lived in.

Parents need only make a declaration before a court to ensure that combined custody of the child would apply after any separation.

In Scandinavian countries and in Holland, dual custody is awarded after a check to see that the interests of the child or children would be looked after.

A threat

Protection of the child is everyone's priority. But opponents of all changes to the laws governing domestic relationships see any change at all as a threat for to the very institution of marriage.

But Herta Däubler-Gmelin says the child and not the marriage certificate is the important thing. She says that the state and its authorities must, for this reason, accommodate itself to the demands of relationships outside marriage.

In her book, *Freie Liebe — wilde Ehe*, (Free Love — Living in Sin) Herrad Schenk wrote: "What right has the state to decide that some relationships are registered and therefore worthy of support and that others are not registered and therefore not worthy of support?

"If a household is seen long term as a state of affairs that ought to be supported, then material privileges should be accorded it on the basis that it is a lasting relationship and not because it is a relationship that has merely officially declared an intention."

Maria Frisé

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 August 1988)

Continued from page 14

fire for having taken money from the fruit machine industry, with particular criticism from the addiction lobby.

In the past he has also had to defend himself from charges that the official organisation for coin-operated machines has misused his research results, despite the fact that he has a contract ensuring his independence from the sources that offer him funds.

At the recent Bundestag committee public hearing Professor Hand said: "Central government and the state governments, main beneficaries of fruit machine playing and gambling, have so far not accepted their duty of supporting research. In this way they have contributed to the present situation."

If the Hamburg treatment method is confirmed as being obviusly the most successful in caring for players it would presumably go a long way towards reducing health care costs.

This short-term treatment for a player costs health insurance schemes between DM500 and DM1,000, according to Professor Hand.

The 11-week in-patient treatment programme costs about DM15,000 according to Bert Kellermann.

Could it be that there are economic interests concealed in the haste to recognise "gaming addiction" in the wake of all other "civilisation addictions" as an incurable illness?

In this connection a passage in a written statement made by Professor Hand for the economic affairs committee is worth taking note of.

He wrote: "The economic interests of the "bed industry for addicts," planned a long time ago, and the jobs depending on this industry came to grief with drug addicts and has its problems with alcoholics. The tendency then today is to use these beds for "non-drug addicts" to use up capacities."

Fritz Gärtner is unaware of these battles that are being waged about the therapy method he underwent. He only knows that he did not have to go to a clinic for 11 weeks for treatment for his fruit machine addiction.

"What a change that would have made to my life? When I came back home I would no longer have had a job. But step by step I have rearranged my life," he said.

His "mistakes in arranging his life" were carefully put right together with his woman therapeutist — without any prohibitions and pressure.

Gärtner said: "They built a ladder for me so that I could climb out of the hole I was in."

Volker Skierka

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, München, 20 August 1988)